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Monday March 9 1998

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The Guardian

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

The gender scale of justice

Do women get a fair deal?

G2 with European weather

Tony O'Reilly

A man of Independent means

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Sport

French close to Five Nations slip-up

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'Foul play' by tobacco firm

Passive smoking claims rejected

Sarah Boseley
Health Correspondent

THE tobacco industry was accused yesterday of foul play for claiming that an unpublished European study cleared pas-

sive smoking of causing cancer. There was angry reaction to British American Tobacco's allegation that publication of the study was being held up by the World Health Organisation, which had commissioned it, because its conclusions would set back the anti-smoking crusade.

BAT was accused of deliberately drawing wrong conclusions from the European study in the hope of laying a false trail ahead of what may be a damaging report from the Department of Health on Thursday. A government review of all the evidence is likely to conclude that passive smoking is a killer.

Malcolm Law, one of the authors of a definitive analysis of the research to date into passive smoking, which was published in the British Medical Journal last October, said the tobacco industry's interpretation of the WHO study was wrong. For the last 10

years, the studies had clearly shown that those who live with smokers had a 25 per cent increased risk of developing cancer. The European study was no different. "The authors' own conclusion is that their study is totally consistent with previous work," he said.

The multi-centre study, by Rodolfo Saracci, had not been held up by the WHO, he said. It had been submitted to the Journal of the National Cancer Institute in the United States. Any delay was caused by the usual lengthy process of peer review.

The tobacco industry had claimed the WHO study was the largest of its type and that it had found not only that passive smoking does not kill, but that it may even have a protective effect. Doctors from the British Medical Association retorted yesterday that the study of 650 lung cancer patients and 1,542 healthy people was dwarfed by the 4,600 cases that Dr Law and two colleagues reviewed for their analysis last October.

Dr O'Neill said there were signs that the tobacco industry, which has chosen for years to ignore the attacks on it, had decided to become proactive in the last few weeks. One of last Sunday's national newspapers had carried an advertisement claiming that tobacco was not addictive. They are aware of all the publicity coming this week and they are trying to react to



One of the designs produced by Ralph Steadman for the Royal Mail before the decision to leave out Tony Hancock from the 'comic genius' set of stamps

Why Hancock tribute failed stamp of approval

John Ezzard

ROYAL MAIL dropped the cherished comedian Tony Hancock from a stamp issue marking "British comic genius" after paying the artist Ralph Steadman to design a stamp featuring him, it was disclosed yesterday. Steadman said he was convinced Hancock had been discarded — late in the selection process — because Royal Mail decided it could not "have the Queen's head on a stamp with a man who died a suicidal alcoholic".

Announcing the issue last week, Royal Mail said the star, who killed himself 30 years ago, had not been considered because he was not a stand-up comedian. Hancock's defenders replied that he had begun and ended his career in stand-up comedy. He topped the bill at the London Palladium throughout his 1950s and 1960s television heyday on Hancock's Half Hour. Steadman said: "It would



have been reasonable, though embarrassing, if they had said in the end that they didn't like my drawing and commissioned another artist. "What never remotely occurred to me was that they would leave Hancock out. He was an artist who tapped into the national psyche. It seems that I had put my heart into a project that ended by becoming offensive to the powers that be."

Ray Galton, who wrote the series with Alan Simpson, said yesterday, "I don't normally get out of my pram about these things. But I am utterly appalled that Tony is not in the issue. In any list of Britain's top five comedians, he absolutely has to be on it."

David Graham, chairman of the organisation Comic Heritage which last week protested about Hancock's exclusion from the issue, said news of Steadman's commission was "an astonishing revelation". Royal Mail finally chose Joyce Grenfell, Eric Morecambe, Les Dawson, Tommy Cooper and Peter

Cook. Drawings of them by the artist Gerald Scarfe will go on millions of stamps to be issued next month. Steadman decided to reveal his commission after reading a Guardian article about protests over the omission of Hancock. Barry Robinson, Royal Mail design director, had told Steadman that two other artists were already working on Cooper and Morecambe drawings. A selection committee would either choose five stamps by five different artists or ask Royal Mail to go back to one artist to do all five comedians. Steadman, a fan since childhood, produced nine Hancock drawings. "I tried to avoid sentimentality," he said yesterday. "I did not want to draw a jolly,

Adams retreats on unification

John Mullin
Ireland Correspondent

GERRY ADAMS, Sinn Féin president, yesterday publicly conceded that there was no imminent prospect of the unification of Ireland, signalling a switch in tactics aimed at increasing pressure on the Irish government to stand up for nationalists' demands. As the multi-party talks on Northern Ireland's future enter what the two governments are calling the end game, Mr Adams delivered what amounts to a wish-list to Bertie Ahern, the Irish prime minister. His conditions to agree a political settlement include cross-border bodies with executive powers, the dismantling of the RUC, the withdrawal of the army, and the release of all republican prisoners.

Sinn Féin feels that Dublin failed to fight strongly for the nationalist agenda, and has allowed itself to be led by Tony Blair's administration. Unionists derided Mr Adams' claims. There is now little chance of Sinn Féin signing up to any agreement that may come out of the talks. Sinn Féin will announce this morning whether it will return to the Stormont negotiations. Its six-day working

suspension after it was excluded over two murders linked to the IRA is completed today. After prevaricating, it is expected to return, probably tomorrow. But neither Mr Adams nor Martin McGuinness, chief negotiator, will be back until they have met Mr Blair, a condition they set on re-entry. The party's second string is expected to attend instead. Sinn Féin was last night trying to pull back the Blair summit, pencilled in for Thursday, to tomorrow, allowing Mr Adams to fulfil speaking engagements in New York later this week. Downing Street said no decision had yet been made. Mr Adams and Mr McGuinness will return to the conference table on March 23, less than three weeks before the governments plan to achieve broad agreement ahead of an intensive haggling. Mr Adams, writing in the Dublin-based Ireland on Sunday, admitted unequivocally for the first time what Sinn Féin has long recognised in private. Its dreams of a united Ireland will be unrealistic come any political settlement in May. The article was seen as an attempt to keep Sinn Féin's increasingly restive grassroots on board while emphasising long-standing republican goals. Mr Adams' minimum demands for Sinn Féin's agreement to a deal include that all policing and judicial issues come under the remit of the cross-border institutions, which he insists must have executive powers. He demands a bill of rights, guaranteed by a new all-Ireland constitutional court, responsible to a north-south council. The Northern Ireland assembly would have no veto over decisions made by the cross-border bodies. He wants voting rights for northerners in all Dail and presidential elections and referendums, and sets Sinn Féin on a collision course with Mr Ahern over constitutional changes. Mr Ahern is prepared to alter articles two and three of the Irish constitution to delete the republic's territorial claim as part of an overall settlement. Mr Adams turn to page 3, column 4

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5 facts about gerry adams

- 1 Gerry Adams' father spent five years in jail for the attempted murder of an IRA constable.
- 2 Between 1971 and 1973 he was held without trial in what is now the Maze prison.
- 3 During an assassination attempt on Belfast Adams was shot and wounded.
- 4 Adams was the first member of Sinn Féin to win a Westminster seat since 1918.
- 5 Gerry Adams likes ping-pong and Willie Nelson.

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Prospects dim as foreign ministers meet in London □ Serb police chiefs announce end of crackdown □ Milosevic snubs Turkey

West struggles to halt Kosovo killing

Ian Black
Diplomatic Editor

THE United States and Britain will today lead international efforts to press Yugoslavia to stop the killing in Kosovo and accept mediation, and allow humanitarian access.

Madeleine Albright, the US secretary of state, and Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, join ministers from France, Germany, Russia and Italy in London today for emergency talks to find a way of persuading a defiant Slobodan Milosevic to back down.

The six countries make up the Contact Group formed to deal with Bosnia, and are still haunted by their failures there. But they have little economic and no military leverage, and their prospects of succeeding in Kosovo remain slim. President Milosevic insists that the crackdown is an internal matter.

As thousands of ethnic Albanian women demonstrated in the provincial capital Pristina yesterday, Serbian police commanders announced that their weekend offensive, in which dozens of people have died and 5,000 have fled, was over. But the Serbian region remained closed to journalists.

Allegations admit there is no magic solution to the conflict, which has sent shockwaves across the region and brought disturbing echoes of former Yugoslavia's disintegration to life.

But Mrs Albright talked tough. "The violence has already had repercussions in Albania and the former Yugoslav republics," she said in Bonn.

The time to stop the killing is now, before it spreads. The way to do that is take immediate action against the regime in Belgrade to ensure that it pays the price for damage it has already done and to encourage it to finally resolve the problems in Kosovo through dialogue and reconciliation.

Mr Cook, hosting today's talks of London, said, said in a statement: "The Serbian must give a credible response to provide a credible autonomy

to Kosovo. We do not accept that this is merely an internal matter. The international community's concerns about human rights and regional security cannot be so easily dismissed."

The French president, Jacques Chirac, saying "we cannot accept a slide into civil war", called for "urgent and determined" international action.

Britain wants to keep close to the US, as it did over Iraq, but Europe has no stomach for drastic action. Italy and Greece would not contemplate economic sanctions.

Serious United Nations involvement is unlikely because of opposition from Russia, traditionally sympathetic to Serbia. Its foreign minister, Yevgeny Primakov, is sending a deputy to today's talks. On Friday Moscow issued a statement opposing "outside interference" and talk of sanctions.

"Milosevic will make it as hard as possible for outsiders to play a role," said one diplomat. "It's quite clear that there's no Nato action, no possibility of a Security Council resolution, and no sanctions that matter."

One possibility is to downgrade diplomatic representation in Belgrade, but that would be largely symbolic and would pit the US against EU countries, including Britain, which have full ambassadors in place.

Mr Milosevic is likely to be asked to accept a mediation mission by the former Spanish prime minister Felipe Gonzalez, on behalf of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Mr Gonzalez brought a solution to a 1995 stand-off between Mr Milosevic and the Serbian opposition parties over disputed municipal elections.

Yesterday the Yugoslav president rebuffed the Turkish foreign minister, Ismail Cem, who was in Belgrade for talks about the Kosovo crisis.

The Tanjug news agency said: "It was noted that non-interference in internal affairs of other countries was a precondition for the successful development of bilateral and international relations."

In Kosovo scores of Albanian villagers spent their third night sleeping rough, afraid to return home.



Ethnic Albanians signal victory during a demonstration in the Kosovo regional capital Pristina yesterday against the killing of alleged separatist guerrillas. PHOTOGRAPH: OLEG POPOV

Set leaves no one hungry for more

Adam Sweeting

Slack

The subject, however,

SUICIDE, the most recent of the three new albums by the band, is a collection of songs that are as much about the band's internal struggles as they are about the external world. The album is a testament to the band's resilience and their ability to overcome adversity. It is a collection of songs that are as much about the band's internal struggles as they are about the external world. The album is a testament to the band's resilience and their ability to overcome adversity. It is a collection of songs that are as much about the band's internal struggles as they are about the external world. The album is a testament to the band's resilience and their ability to overcome adversity.

heard of, melody barely conceivable. To this day, Suicide's material comprises raw, rhythmic thrashes patched together by gadget-supremo Martin Rev, while vocalist Alan Vega raves and poses at the microphone.

Suicide 1988-style are still recognisable as the confrontational duo that once managed to incite a riot at a gig in Crawley, although Vega seems to have quadrupled in girth since his youth. In a beret and trademark fingerless gloves, he harangues and hector the crowd, though, thanks to his thick Brooklyn accent and a quagmire of a PA system, little of what he yelled was comprehensible.

Suicide's credentials as god-fathers of techno are mostly down to Martin Rev. In his heavy metal hair and massive, futuristic shades, Rev towers over his band of equipment, spinning gratefully as he cradles two other crumpling beats and blipping synth patterns with the turntables of his long leather-clad arms. The music is raw, longer and more aggressively intense as the night progresses.

The second disc, with a running track of Sister Ray, is a tribute to the band's early days, when they were hungry for more. "Everyone's a winner," belatedly Vega, a keen Hot Chocolate fan. Not good, but definitely interesting.

Prescott denies allegation over £27,000 donation

Ewen MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

AN ANGRY John Prescott insisted yesterday that he had acted entirely above board in respect of a £27,750 donation which the Conservatives are planning to refer to Sir Gordon Downey, the Parliamentary Standards Commissioner.

The Conservatives claim that the Deputy Prime Minister breached parliamentary rules by failing to declare a donation to his office from the Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust in the register of members' interests.

Mr Prescott replied that he

had registered the first instalment in 1995, and in the following year had the money put into a trust agreed by Sir Gordon. "I acted quite properly in this matter," he said.

Mr Prescott found himself fighting on two fronts yesterday when he was confronted with an unrelated report about his son John's involvement in a company which bought former council houses in Hull cheaply.

Noticeably irritated that his son had been drawn in, he said: "It does annoy me, after 28 years in politics, that you can get these stories thrown up by the press and going for my son because his name happens to be Prescott, when

none of them even suggests anything improper has been done at all."

Mr Prescott, who said he had not known about the sale, asked his permanent secretary to conduct an immediate audit of the deal to assure the public that there had been nothing underhand. Meanwhile a Labour spokesman said the row about the Rowntree donation was not comparable to Tory failures to register interests. Mr Prescott had not received a penny of the money, which had gone to fund research into regional development agencies, one of his pet subjects.

Mr Prescott said: "I registered the first contribution in

1995. Then I established an office trust fund under the guidance of ... Sir Gordon Downey."

But Iain Duncan Smith, a member of the shadow cabinet, said: "It will have to go to Downey."

Any MP can refer the issue, and he confidently predicted that a Conservative MP would step forward to raise it with Sir Gordon.

On the second front, Mr Prescott's son was at the centre of a report that a company which employed him had bought about 20 former council houses for £5,000 each.

A Hull city councillor, Terry Geraghty, told the BBC's The World this Week

end: "I'm very unhappy, because houses in the area have been going for anything between £20,000 and £30,000, and here we see perfectly good houses going for £5,000 to a private landlord."

Mr Prescott Jr countered that the houses were "totally derelict" inside and needed "thousands and thousands" of pounds of work before they were returned into the social housing sector at competitive, low-cost rent for local people.

He insisted that he had "stood well back" from the deal, because of the potential sensitivity of the properties being ex-council houses, and that his father had known nothing of it.

"People are after my father, obviously."

The Deputy Prime Minister said there was no reason why he should have known about the deal. The council had been offered the houses, and turned them down. After that, there had been a sealed bid and Mr Prescott Jr's company had won it.

Labour refused to confirm that Lord Sainsbury, chairman of the supermarket chain, had donated £2 million to the party in the run-up to the general election. Lord Sainsbury, ennobled after the election, was recorded in Labour's accounts in October as having given more than £5,000.

Hereditary peers to go as Lords reforms begin

Ewen MacAskill

THE Government is to end months of hesitation over Lords reform by pressing ahead with the abolition of hereditary peers later this year.

The decision of senior Labour figures is partly to take revenge on Tory peers for leaking details last week of consultations on the issue with the Government. "The Tories have made a big mistake," a senior Labour source said last night.

Abolition of hereditary peers will be included in the Queen's Speech in the autumn, and the ground-breaking constitutional bill is expected to begin its parliamentary passage before Christmas.

In January, a cabinet committee was set up to look at alternatives for the Lords. Labour had been willing to seek a compromise with the Tories on Lords reform in the belief that this would be the easiest way to bring it about.

The Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, the Leader of the Lords, Lord Richard, the

Home Secretary, Jack Straw, and other cabinet ministers had been debating the best way to meet the Conservative objection that the Government's position was irrational: planning to abolish hereditary peers without saying what to put in their place.

In the face of this criticism, Labour had considered a "big bang" approach, combining abolition of the hereditary peers with the introduction of an elected chamber. But relations between Labour and Tory peers were soured last week when the Conservatives

set out to embarrass the Government by leaking the news of joint consultations.

Labour has now decided to drop the big bang approach. "We are going ahead without having mapped it out in every detail. We will worry about what to put in place of the hereditaries the following year," the source said.

The scene is set for a confrontation between the Commons and the Lords. The Conservatives retain a massive majority in the Lords and can easily delay the bill.

If the bill goes through, the

Lords will temporarily be made up only of life peers. Labour is likely in the end to opt for a second chamber that is partly elected and partly appointed.

The Conservatives had been seeking a compromise in which some of their most active hereditary peers could be made into life peers. The Government will use that as a bargaining counter to try to get its bill through next year.

If the Conservative peers fight the bill all the way, seriously delaying its passage, Labour can resort to the tactics used by the Liberal government in 1911, threatening to swamp the Lords by appointing Labour peers to give itself an overall majority.

Until the Tory leak last week, the cabinet committee had been in deadlock over tactics. Ministers such as Mr Straw and the Leader of the Commons, Ann Taylor, had favoured abolition of the hereditary peers as a first stage, but the peers on the committee, Lord Irvine and Lord Richard, wanted to explore with the Tories the possibility of a big bang.

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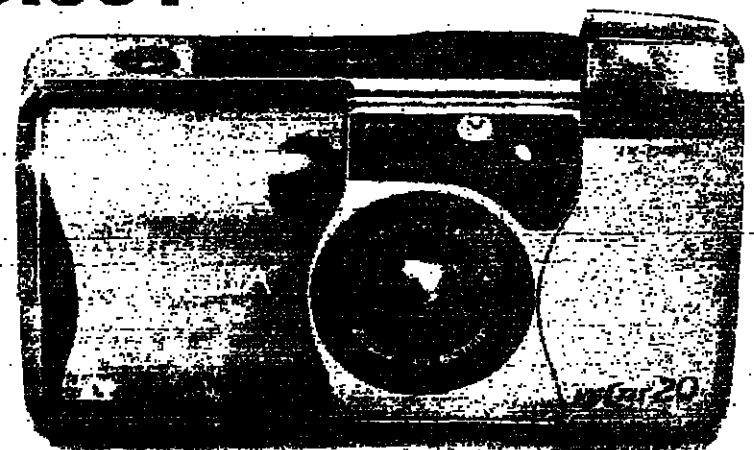
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Actor's new legal battle



Peter Carter-Ruck: firm accused of negligence

Coronation Street actor who faced huge costs bill after jury awarded him £50,000 in 'boring Ken Barlow' action says firm was negligent

Soap star sues libel case lawyers

Claire Dyer
Legal Correspondent

THE actor William Roache, who plays Ken Barlow in Coronation Street, is suing the leading law firm Peter Carter-Ruck & Partners for negligence over its handling of his libel case against the Sun in 1992.

Mr Roache won his action over allegations in November 1990 that he was as boring as his screen persona and was hated by his television colleagues. But he ended up paying both sides' costs after the jury awarded him £50,000 — the same amount as the Sun had paid into court in an attempt to settle the claim and avoid a trial.

The case, which is scheduled for hearing in Manchester next June, will focus attention on the phenomenon of the payment into court, frequently used by defendants to pressure plaintiffs into an out-of-court settlement.

A plaintiff can either accept the money or carry on to trial in the hope of winning more. But if the eventual award is the same or less, the plaintiff must pay both sides' costs from the date of the payment in, including for the trial.

The device is used in all sorts of damages claims, but the gamble is greatest in libel cases because juries' awards are notoriously hard to predict.

The £50,000 Mr Roache won was completely swallowed up, leaving him with a six-figure bill for the balance of the costs. Had he been awarded £50,001 the paper would have had to pay his costs as well as its own.

The Sun said in a statement at the time: "Mr Roache has learned the first lesson of

libel, which is that if you don't like losing, don't play the game. He could have had £50,000 and a full apology. But he chose to go after fool's gold and now he has lost a fortune."

Mr Roache looked likely to escape the costs at first when a High Court judge ruled that he was justified in pressing on to trial to seek an injunction banning the Sun from repeating the libel. But the Court of Appeal disagreed, saying he could have had an undertaking not to repeat the libel had he accepted the settlement.

Lord Justice Stuart-Smith said in his judgment that a pre-trial payment into court was "a most useful weapon in the hands of a defendant faced with a greedy plaintiff who is making unreasonable demands for damages".

The then Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Bingham, added that he believed Mr Roache had gone ahead with the trial "because he wanted to win a larger sum from the jury than the defendants had offered".

Mr Roache and his solicitor declined to comment on the decision against Carter-Ruck. Nigel Tait, a partner in the firm, said: "Mr Roache is alleging that he didn't get the right advice. But after the case he wrote Mr Carter-Ruck a very appreciative letter, thanking him for all he had done."

The firm's advice is at the centre of a separate action in which the forensic scientist Frank Skuse claims it was negligent in its handling of his libel action against Granada TV over a World In Action programme criticising his involvement in the wrongful conviction of the Birmingham Six. Dr Skuse eventually dropped his libel action but



William Roache outside court after his libel case against the Sun in which the jury awarded him £50,000 but he was left with a much larger bill for costs

PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH



William Roache as Ken Barlow, a part he has played since Coronation Street started on ITV 37 years ago

Soap veteran

Ken Barlow may not be boring, but Bill Roache's career has hardly been varied: the only remaining member of Coronation Street's original cast, his 37-year stint makes him the longest-serving actor in a television serial.

The 65-year-old attributes his decision to remain with the soap so long to his upbringing. "Having gone to boarding school at the age of seven, and then into the army for five years, I was used to operating in a framework of discipline." He claims to be content to play Ken for the rest of his life.

Twice married, he is alleged to have had affairs with co-stars Jennifer Moss (Lucille Hewitt) and the late Pat Phoenix (Elsie Tanner) during his first marriage to the actress Anna Cropper,

by whom he had two children, Linus, aged 33, and Vanya, 31. "I admit I behaved badly and I paid the price. That marriage ended in divorce."

For the last 25 years he has been with second wife Sara — 17 years his junior — by whom he has two children, Verity, aged 16, and William, 11. The couple had a third child, Edwin, who died in her cot 10 years ago at the age of 18 months.

Roache's eldest son has followed in his father's footsteps: the star of Seaford and Priest, he can now be seen baring all in The Wings of the Dove.

A long-standing Tory, Roache ventured into the political fray before the election when he allied himself with the disgraced ex-minister Neil Hamilton.

Court veteran

Like Bill Roache, Peter Carter-Ruck is a veteran in his area. Now 84, he has spent more than 50 years in his chosen legal speciality — and is believed to have no intention of retiring.

The scourge of the press — in particular Private Eye — Carter-Ruck began his career in libel defending newspapers. His first libel client was a provincial newspaper editor who alleged that Bessie Braddock, MP, had danced a jig on the floor of the Commons. He won.

He denies his aim is to make newspapers squirm: 90 per cent of his cases are settled out of court.

He attributes his success in part to his ability to divine water. "This extra sensitivity to natural elements, which I cannot

explain, may have provided me with an extra sensitivity in dealing with cases."

Unlike Roache — whose GP father was distant — Carter-Ruck's parent was sternly disciplinary. "When my sister and I misbehaved we would be put to bed for 24 hours on bread and water. But I didn't mind."

Like Roache, Carter-Ruck suffered the loss of a child. His son Brian died in 1973.

And, again like Roache, who has been estranged from his eldest daughter, Vanya, Carter-Ruck has had problems with his daughter Julie. The couple had a well-publicised falling-out when she left his partnership to join Mischon de Reya — but are now reconciled.

ANC in Aids drug row

Mandela's heir accuses medical body of blocking 'mercy treatment'

David Beresford
in Cape Town

NELSON MANDELA's successor to the presidency of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, has put his credibility on the line by joining in a furious row about the development of a "miracle" Aids drug.

Sunday newspapers carried lengthy articles by the deputy president yesterday justifying his government's role in the development of the drug, Viridene, and accusing the statutory Medical Control Council of "denying dying Aids sufferers mercy treatment".

The long-running controversy re-erupted last week when the opposition Democratic Party claimed that it had documentary evidence that the African National Congress had a financial stake in the drug, which crit-

ics say is potentially lethal. The health minister, Nkomo Zuma, countered by accusing it of wanting ANC's supporters to "die of Aids".

The ANC's general secretary, Kgalema Motlanthe, then joined in by suggesting that the Medical Council had sinister financial motives for banning the drug. Threats of civil and criminal action were flying at the weekend.

The Viridene saga began last year when it emerged that the South African cabinet had given an unprecedented audience to a group of researchers who claimed they had found a cure for Aids.

Bewilderment at the ANC's apparent backing increased when it became known that the researchers had not gone through the formalities required to test the drug.

The Medical Control Council then banned human trials, after establishing that the

drug included a solvent used in the plastics industry.

It was thought that this had put an end to the drug. But the controversy blew up again when a group of researchers involved in its development went to court to try to force the manufacturers to disclose what testing was going on and whether humans were being used as guinea pigs.

They brought the case because they were worried that they could be held liable for any damage it caused.

Their application has yet to be heard, but papers with the high court show that the drug may have been distributed in other parts of Africa, including Zimbabwe and Kenya. The South African police believe about 8,000 people have been using the drug.

The papers also refer to the ANC being promised a 6 per cent shareholding. The ANC denied this and the manufacturers, Cryopreservation Technologies, said the reference to the party being given a stake was "the wrong turn of phrase".

Adams backs down on unification

continued from page 1

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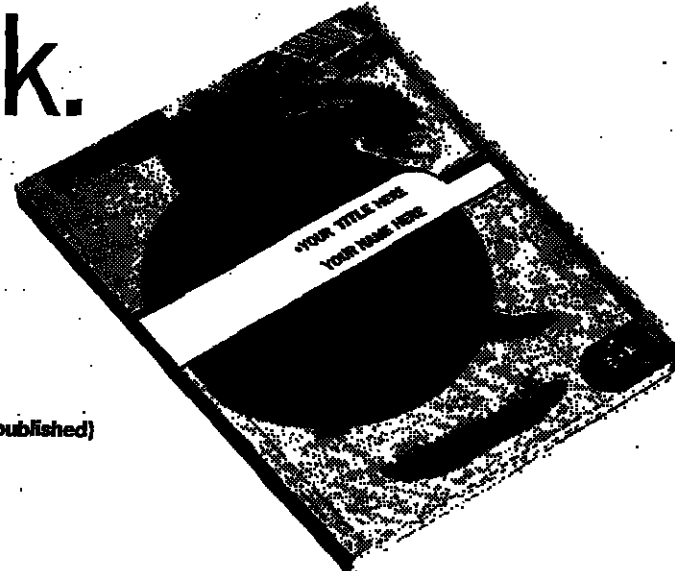
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She has never given the impression that having it all is easy. This might be one reason why seemingly everyone she meets falls for her.
Profile of Cherie Blair

G2 page 4

4 BRITAIN

Pupils' drug use found to be falling

Vivek Chaudhary
Education Correspondent

At least one in eight 14 and 15 year-olds will have used an illegal drug in the past month, and most young people are close to a supply of drugs by the time they reach the top year at school, according to a survey published today.

But the survey by the Schools Health Education Unit (SHEU) also found that the anti-drugs message may be getting through to young people, with fewer school children reporting having experimented with drugs than in previous years.

Just over 27,000 pupils aged between 12 and 15 from 122 schools around the country took part in the survey. When the 14 and 15 year-olds were asked when they last used an illegal drug, 8.5 per cent of boys and 6.1 per cent of girls said in the previous week, and 5.1 per cent of boys and 5.9 per cent of girls said in the previous month.

The survey found that among 15 to 16 year-olds, 14 per cent of boys and 11 per cent of girls had taken drugs in the previous week.

However, overall figures showed a slight drop, with 26 per cent of 14 to 15 year-olds saying they had taken drugs, compared with 33 per cent in 1996. The figures for 15 to 16 year-olds stayed the same as the 1996 level, at 39 per cent.

John Balding, director of the SHEU, based at Exeter University, said: "We have been looking at these figures for around 20 years, and from

1987 we have seen a steady rise in the number of young people taking drugs. But now there's been an actual fall from a high in 1996.

"Perhaps cases like Leah Betts' death, which have drawn an incredible amount of publicity, are starting to have an effect."

Only 7 per cent of boys questioned and 4 per cent of girls believed it was safe to take Ecstasy, while more than 40 per cent of boys and 36 per cent of girls said cannabis was safe.

The survey also found that the proportion of young people knowing a drug-user is much higher than the number actually using drugs.

More than 60 per cent of 14 to 15 year-olds knew at least one drug-taker. The researchers claim this shows young people do not automatically try drugs just because they are available, and that others of drugs are being refused.

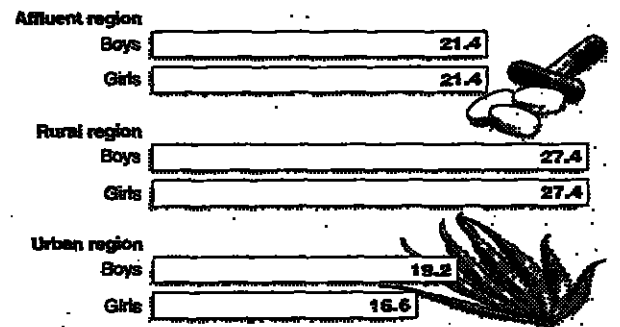
It adds that "if they [young people] really want to experiment, the route to a supply is close by. The fact is that by the time young people have reached the top year of compulsory schooling, almost all are close to a potential supply of illegal drugs."

The survey also partly dispels the notion that only inner-city school children are exposed to drugs. Only 19 per cent of boys and 16 per cent of girls who said they had experimented with drugs were from inner-city areas.

A young person who experiments with drugs is likely to be confident, sociable and have a part-time job, but be less studious than one who did not take drugs, the survey found.

Tried and tested

Percentage of 14-15 year-olds having tried drugs



News in brief

Memorial to black youth is defaced

A MEMORIAL stone for murdered black teenager Stephen Lawrence has been daubed over with white paint, police said yesterday. The plaque at the bus stop in Eltham, south-east London, where the 18-year-old was stabbed to death waiting for a bus in April 1993, had been chipped at with a heavy object in an apparent attempt to erase Stephen's name, Scotland Yard said.

Detectives are investigating the attack, and "items found at the scene" have been taken away for forensic tests, said a spokesman.

A public inquiry into Stephen's death is due to open next Monday.

An inquest in February last year ruled that Stephen had been unlawfully killed by five white youths in "a completely unprovoked racist attack". Five youths were arrested but the case was dropped, prompting Stephen's parents to bring a private prosecution, which collapsed.

Clean needles for prisoners

PRISONERS injecting illegal drugs could be issued with sterilising equipment for their syringes to stop the spread of Aids and other diseases, the head of the Prison Service said yesterday. Richard Tilt was responding to concerns raised by the Chief Inspector of Prisons, Sir David Ramsbotham, who found more than 30 prisoners sharing one syringe at Brixton jail in Wiltshire.

The move is likely to be criticised as encouraging prisoners' drug use, but Mr Tilt told the BBC Breakfast With Frost programme, broadcast live from Moorland Prison near Doncaster: "Public health considerations are going to have to outweigh the other issues."

Earlier Sir David Ramsbotham told the programme: "If you do start to have disinfectant and needle exchanges, in a way you are accepting there's a problem in prisons but you are not condoning it. I would not want the prisons to be accused of exacerbating what is essentially a public health issue."

Cattle disease inquiry opens

THE judicial inquiry into the former Government's handling of the BSE affair gets under way tomorrow with the first of a series of public hearings.

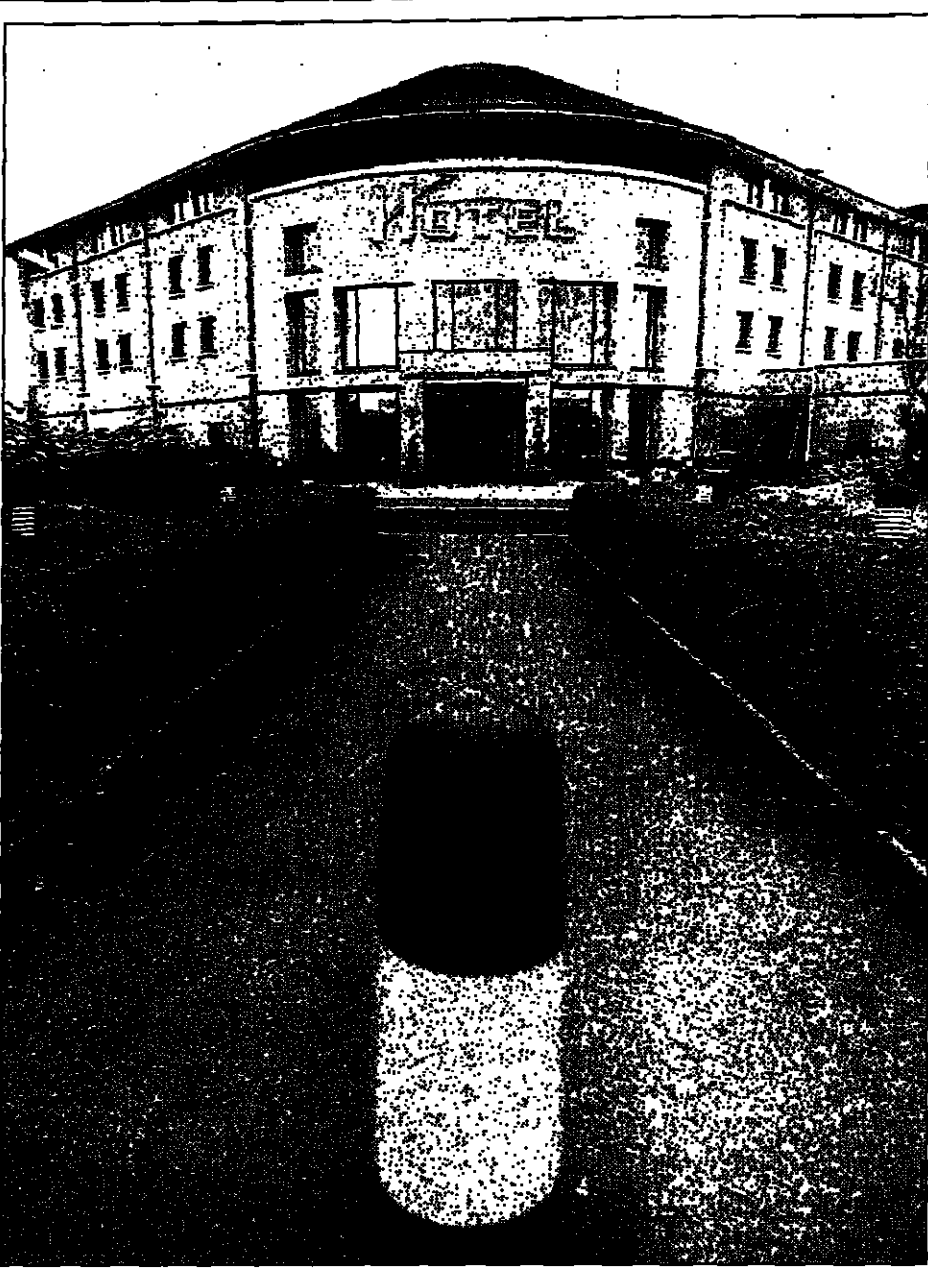
The aim of the inquiry, being held in London, is to explore the root causes of "mad cow disease" and the way the crisis was handled by civil servants and ministers. Over the next four months politicians, scientists, civil servants, representatives of the beef and food industry, and relatives of victims of new variant CJD, the human disease linked to BSE, will be called to give evidence. Lord Justice Phillips is due to submit his findings by December 30.

Women to sue for CS attack

TWO top women rugby players are planning to sue police after a woman officer allegedly sprayed them with CS gas. Great Britain captain Alicia McInosh, of Halifax, West Yorks, and Samantha Pearson, of Bradford, who both play for top women's team Dudley Hill Thunderbirds in Bradford, claim the WPC sprayed them without justification and are to make an official complaint to the West Yorkshire force.

The pair were arrested after an incident in High Street, Wilsby, Bradford, in January. Members of the team had gone for a drink after training but one player slipped and hit her head on the floor. Ms Pearson, a former paramedic, went to help, but claims that when police arrived they told her to get out of the way and then sprayed the women for no apparent reason. Both were charged with disorderly conduct but the case was thrown out last week by a magistrates' court.

Both women complained to a police inspector the day after the incident and now are suing for damages.



The Aldergrove hotel which cost \$5 million to build and was bought for £1. Right, the greyhound exercise track for which £13.376 was provided



PHOTOGRAPHS: CRISPIN ROWELL

Airport sale millionaires

MPs told of waste and fraud in Ulster and how management buy-out of airport made £75m profit. David Hencke reports

THREE civil servants have become multimillionaires after a consortium they joined bought Belfast International airport from the Government for £32.75 million and sold it two years later for £107.9 million — a profit of £75.15 million.

As part of the deal, investigated by the House of Commons public accounts committee, they paid £1 for the three-star Aldergrove hotel which cost \$5 million to build one year previously. The three Northern Ireland Office officials — Jim Dornan, Greg Hamill and James Malra — were part of a management buy-out consortium and put up \$50,000 of their own money. The consortium's bid was the highest in a public tender. For their investment, the three received £18 million when the deal was sold.

Charles Wardle, a former Home Office minister who sits on the Commons public accounts committee which examined the deal, says: "The sale stinks from start to finish."

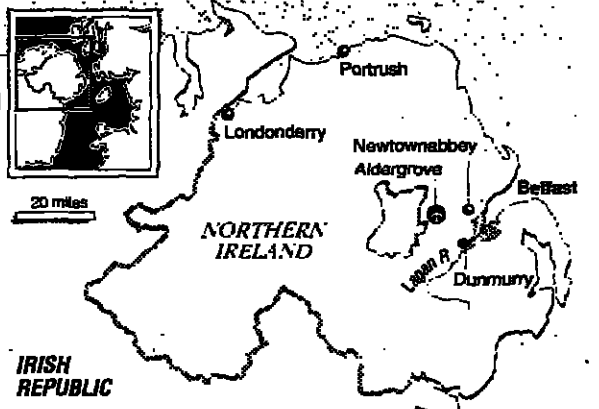
The sale stinks... Their investment grew by 500 per cent a month!

Mr Wardle told Northern Ireland officials at a recent parliamentary hearing: "This is much better than the National Lottery can even conceive of. We saw their investment grow by 500 per cent a month over two years."

"I am all for people getting rich from hard work but people picking something up for a song which belongs to the taxpayer and selling it at that price, I am bound to tell you I find it disturbing."

The airport sale is only one of many examples of how millions of pounds of taxpayers' money went astray in an ill-conceived enterprise to regenerate Belfast by injecting £100 million of public money into a kaleidoscope of schemes. They range from a massive shopping complex in Belfast city centre to a greyhound exercise track at the back of a Newtownabbey council yard.

The Northern Ireland Office, which handed out the cash, is accused of losing control of what happened to it. David Davis, the chairman of the committee, says: "It is totally unacceptable that



of pounds were handed out without asking for receipts. Now another 2,900 groups are to be investigated by the NIO

businessman, Tony Donnelly, are also being investigated. He chaired the Greater Dumburry and Suffolk Trust, whose company, the Phoenix Print and Packaging Company, received over \$50,000 grants.

The fraud inquiry centres on about £313,000 spent by the trust on job creation in an area of high unemployment where Protestant paramilitaries rule.

Ten unauthorised bank accounts were opened to attract another \$500,000 from the European Social Fund, using the Northern Ireland Comptroller and Auditor General as a referee — without his knowledge — to access the cash.

The money was spent setting up job creation pro-

grammes in Fresno, California, Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, and in Romania. Some 51 people went abroad on the trips. Mr Malachy, who organised it, then took a two-year break from the Department of Environment to set up his own private consultancy in Romania before returning to his old job.

Another scheme involved state-aided greyhound training. A total of £13.376 was given to the Newtownabbey Greyhound Owners and Breeders Association for an exercise track. One quotation was obtained and no receipts were found.

Auditors found that the ministry had illegally used anti-poverty legislation to fund £350,000 prize money for visiting golfers.

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Architectural policy was intrinsically linked with political expediency and one of the most remarkable (and vile) of all social revolutions. Jonathan Glancey

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A well

The Guardian Monday March 9 1998

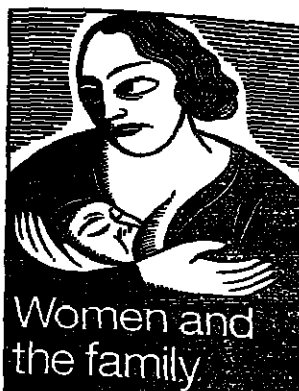
Mothers want the right to stay with their children

Legal & General

panel

Chancellor's Budget next week aims to help less well-off, mainly women with children, by closing gap between 'work rich' and 'work poor'

A welfare state that works



Women and the family

The Chancellor says next week's Budget is for women and children. In the first of a series on women and the family, LARRY ELLIOTT asks why mothers are being targeted, and whether it'll work

THE Government is banking on Gordon Brown's Budget in eight days' time to change the public mood.

Four months after it bungled cuts in single-parent benefits, the Budget is being billed as a package for "women and children" and

will be unashamedly aimed at providing help for the poor.

More than that, it sets the tone for the Government's campaign to remake Beveridge's welfare state for the next century.

Ministers think they have a workable strategy not just for tackling social exclusion, but also for re-directing public money from an ever-increasing

benefits bill to higher spending on education and health.

For all that, there are those who question Labour's strategy and tactics for achieving its goals. So, why is the Government targeting women and children in the Budget? What can we expect on March 17? And will the strategy work?

In the first place, the Chancellor is not specifically aiming his package at women and children; he is aiming it at the out of work and the low-paid. However, the vast majority of the low-paid are women, and one third of all children live in families in poverty, so they stand to benefit from any measures aimed at the least well-off.

Treasury figures provide ample justification for targeting help. Take lone parents. Britain has one of the lowest employment rates for lone parents in the developed world, 40 per cent, compared with 82 per cent in France

and 60 per cent in the United States. One reason for this disparity is that lone parents who find work are likely to earn very low wages and decent childcare is expensive.

According to figures published today by the Childcare Trust, the bill for an average family with two young children — one at school and one not — comes to £6,000 a year, 50 per cent more than would be spent on food.

The trust's director, Colette Kelleher, said: "Children are missing out on quality childcare because they live in an area where it does not exist or their families can't afford to pay for it."

"Parents are missing out on chances to work or study, because they can't find childcare they can afford." Access to high-quality paid childcare is a matter of class. While only 18 per cent of children in households classified as professional are regularly cared for by grandparents, the figure rises to 41 per cent

of children in households headed by an unskilled manual worker.

However, nowadays many lone parents cannot rely on an extended family. It is this that the Budget is designed to remedy, although there is the risk that the Government will — in many cases — subsidise families who currently rely on free care.

Ministers may think this a risk worth taking. In a society split between "work rich" households where both adults work and "work poor" households where no-one works.

The spouses of people in work are 50 per cent more likely to be working than spouses of the unemployed. According to the Treasury, one reason is that many people first meet their partner at work, and that hence people with poor labour market prospects tend to partner people in the same boat.

Another reason is that new jobs tend to go to people with partners in work, because

these jobs — "entry level" jobs, the first people find — typically pay less than half the average wage. Households dependent on benefit cannot afford to take such jobs.

In 1979, the proportion of working age households with no-one in work stood at 9 per cent; by the mid-1990s it was 21 per cent. Over the same period, the proportion of children living in families without a full-time worker rose from 18 per cent to 33 per cent.

The Government's remedy is the new deal for the unemployed, which will begin next month, buttressed by an array of changes to the tax and benefit system. These include the Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC) — a tax break for the low-paid, a 10p starting rate of income tax, a revamp of national insurance, and specific help for childcare, both through the means-tested income support and the universally paid child benefit. Rumours a week ago

that Mr Brown is to announce a £10 billion hand-out for childcare are wide of the mark, but the strategy is clear. The question is whether it will work.

Mr Brown, and the female members of his Treasury team, have gone out of their way to reassure women's groups that the WFTC will not lead to money being transferred from purse to wallet — as the Conservatives claim it will — and that there is no threat to the principle of independent taxation.

However, other questions remain unresolved. Provided the economy does not lurch into recession, there should be jobs available for women who want them.

Indeed, some analysts believe an increase in the supply of labour would be good for the economy, because it would help keep the lid on wages and allow the Government to expand activity more rapidly without increasing inflation.

But these new jobs will be low-paid and low-skilled, which runs counter to the Government's long-term aim of transforming Britain into a high-wage, high productivity economy.

For the Government, though, this is a second-order problem. The first priority is to get people back into the labour market.

In the end, the real debate may be over the Government's philosophy rather than its economics.

Many of the job opportunities will be in the fast-growing care sector, and some critics of the Government suggest that encouraging women to take jobs as childcare workers is the modern equivalent of neighbours being paid to take in each other's washing.

Ministers are aware of the potential pitfalls. Even so, they are committed to the strategy. They know that the war against poverty will be won by this Christmas, or even the next.

Mothers want the right to stay with their children

Does the Government know what women want? The Guardian put together a panel of 12 women with different incomes and backgrounds, who told **Sarah Boseley** and **Sally Weale** of their hopes and needs

THE Government's drive to get mothers out to work has hit strong opposition from a representative panel of women convened by the Guardian, who are adamant that those who want to stay at home with their children should be given state help to do so.

The views of the panel diverged on some issues, but there was no doubt in anyone's mind that it was vital for women to have choice, and most thought it better for a pre-school child if the mother stayed at home.

These were women from all walks of life but they all felt deeply for the plight of Angela McLoughlin, aged 24, bringing up two year old Amy on her own in a council flat.

"I'm not working. I don't want to because my child has got a hearing problem which I do want to sort out before I do anything like that. I don't feel it would be fair on her for me to disappear. I'm a qualified hairdresser so I can go back to work when I want, but it is my choice not to work until I have sorted it out."

Ayling, 43, a teacher with two children of 15 and 18, spoke for everybody when she said: "The Government says they are going to push single mothers out to work if they want to go, then we should support them in that because we will end up paying at some point down the line."

Tracey Waters's family also depends on benefit. She has four children between the ages of two and 15, and her husband has been out of work

on an invalidity allowance since a motorcycle accident nine years ago. She could have come under pressure to go out to earn some money but she believes she should be at home. "My parents both worked from when I was about eight. I had a key. I hated letting myself into a cold house — even when I was 15. I wouldn't be there when my children get home from school."

Few of these women fit the profile of a high-flier straining every nerve to do the best by her young children while succeeding in a demanding and financially rewarding job. The truth is that such women, while high-profile, are a minority. Most were trying to make the job fit the family through part-time working in school hours. But that meant low pay.

Some believed it was vital they were there for their children, convinced that to do anything else would harm them, particularly in the early years. Janett Johnson, 50, told of her fight against poverty to stay at home with her younger child, who was seven when she divorced six years ago. "I went through a very bad divorce. I've chosen life like this. I got a court maintenance order which is a pittance and that is all I've got. I don't get any benefits."

"It is a struggle but it has worked because my son is 13 now and he has no problems at all. He is top in everything at school. He isn't affected in any way, yet I have got friends who have gone through the same and have



Tracey Waters with three of her four children. She stays at home to look after them, remembering how she hated coming home to an empty house as a child. PHOTOGRAPH: JOANNE O'BRIEN

gone out to work, and their kids have suffered mentally. They've got lots of problems."

Jo Ayling said: "When I was young and had my children, I believed it didn't matter whether you worked or didn't when they were under five. Now they are teenagers I'm grateful I was able to be with them when they were small because we built up a good relationship that is carrying us through the turbulent teenage years."

Some, particularly the younger ones, disagreed that children would be harmed by their mothers going out to work. Shirley Chiverton, 58, a widow, was against working mothers until her four grandchildren were born. "My eldest daughter went back to work when the baby was six to eight weeks old."

"At the beginning I couldn't believe she was parking this little baby out to someone else, but now I accept it because they have all got mortgages. The children have not suffered in any way at all."

There seemed to be an underlying pessimism about the future. Many were anxious over money and their

children's prospects — far from hoping their children would do better than they in life, they hoped only that they would not do worse.

Though aware that their children's chances of getting good jobs were slim without going to university, some could see no prospect of leap-frogging the financial burden of tuition fees and student loans.

Joy Porch's 18-year-old daughter Becky is now rethinking her lifetime ambition to become a primary school teacher because of the amount it will cost to get her degree. Joy, a local government worker on £20,000 a year, said: "You can get quite a debt, which is off-putting."

TAMSIN Stockley, 18, a student who works as a part-time nanny looking after the children of a single mother, was positive about her life but worried about incurring debts. "I'm scared about going to university knowing that everything is down to me."

Work seemed far less important than the family to these women. Asked what

they got out of work, the answers centred on money, stability and financial independence. Some seemed less than happy with their situation, with dreams of what they would like to change, but unable to see a practical way forward. Janett Johnson, asked how she felt about the next three years, replied: "Depressed, overall."

She earns £60 a month as a part-time cleaner. "I do what- ever comes along. I can't do the things I'd like to do. I'd like to be a counsellor but there are exams attached to that. It is quite a thing to go through and I suppose my age is against me. They say it's never too late but I'm not too sure."

At the other end of the spectrum, Marilyn Warner, aged 49, with no partner and two children, aged 18 and 21, earns £40,000 as a project supervisor for a large company. She was one of the few who had something positive to say about work. "There's a lot of status attached to having a job, as opposed to being unemployed," she said. Her hope was to maintain her financial security.

Shirley Chiverton, now

retired, had enjoyed her career as a product manager, travelling the world. "I don't want for anything. I got a good pension from my company and my worries are mainly for my grandchildren. I've got a grandson who is 12. I just pray that he never gets into drugs."

There were a lot of anxieties about the years to come. Even the younger ones without responsibilities had financial worries. Suzanne Bond, 22, is a self-employed beauty therapist and still living with her parents. She hopes one day to buy her own house, but she's apprehensive about the next three years. "Nothing is certain. There's no real job security these days," she said.

Rachel Francis, 34, a human resources administrator earning £18,000 a year, is also worried. "I didn't start paying into a pension until I joined this company. I should have had one long before. I will either have to stay at this company until I build up a significant amount or start paying into one privately."

There was a lot of concern about rising mortgage rates. Helen Skilton, 26, who earns

£15,000 working for a motor company, bought a property with her boyfriend, a pipe fitter, last summer. "Before we moved in the mortgage rate went up three times. I thought, 'Oh my God, are we going to be able to afford it?' And it's gone up twice since we've been there."

Like many women, divorcee Jo Wilcox, 47, an unemployed mother of two, has ageing parents to worry about. "I spend a lot of time toing and froing between my home and theirs." She has her own health problems. "I don't do as much exercise as I used to because I've got a dodgy hip."

She worries about health service cuts and waiting lists. Her life would be radically

improved, she feels, if she could have a hip and knee replacement straight away.

While they all back single mothers on benefit, some are concerned about abuse of the welfare system. Jo Wilcox was particularly worried about the spiralling cost. "Genuine people are the ones that are going to slip through the net or be made to pay the penalties for the people that are abusing what has the makings of a very good system."

The panel was recruited and conducted by Opinion Leader Research. Tomorrow: What the panel want the Chancellor to do for them.

The panel

Tracey Waters
32 years old, married.
At home by choice.
Four children (2-15). Partner on invalidity benefit. Family receives income support.

Rachel Francis
34 years old, co-habiting.
Human resources administrator on £18,000. No children.

Jo Ayling
43 years old, married.
Teacher on £25,000. Two children (18 and 15) living at home. Partner is IT specialist.

Helen Skilton
26 years old, cohabiting.
Admin assistant for motor company on

£15,000. No children. Partner is pipe-fitter on £15,000.

Suzanne Bond
22 years old, single.
Self-employed beauty therapist on approx £12,000. No children. Lives with parents.

Marilyn Warner
49 years old, single.
Full-time project supervisor for large company on £40,000. Two children (18 and 21) living at home. No partner.

Tamsin Stockley
18 years old, single.
Part-time student/nanny earning £30 a week. No children. Lives with parents.

Janett Johnson
50 years old, divorced.
Part-time cleaner on £60 a month. Two children (13 and 21). Ex-husband pays maintenance.

Angela McLoughlin
24 years old, single parent.
Unemployed (by choice) hairdresser. One child (2). Receives income support.

Shirley Chiverton
58 years old, widowed.
Retired product manager. Three children (none at home), four grandchildren. Receives pension.

Jo Wilcox
47 years old, divorced.
Unemployed. Two children (23 and 20) — younger at home. Receives unemployment benefit.

Joy Porch
47 years old, married.
Local government worker on £20,000. Two children (18 and 20) both at home.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOANNE O'BRIEN

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French inquiry into kickbacks scandal closes in on Dumas

Paul Webster in Paris

PROSPERITY of a constitutional crisis increased yesterday after a decision by the examining magistrates to question Roland Dumas, the Socialist former foreign minister, over possible links with an alleged multi-million pound fraud involving the sale of frigates to Taiwan.

Mr Dumas, a close friend of François Mitterrand, was appointed by the late Socialist head of state in 1995 to chair the nine-member constitutional council, a supreme court that rules on disputed legislation. His appointment was seen as an attempt by Mr Mitterrand to frustrate conservative reforms if he was succeeded by a Gaullist.

This weekend Mr Dumas, aged 78, was summoned to the Elysée palace by the Gaullist president, Jacques Chirac, and asked if he intended to resign. Mr Chirac would like to replace him in preparation for probable challenges to Socialist government measures, including the 35-hour working week.

Mr Dumas, a barrister who worked beside Mr Mitterrand for 50 years, has denied allegations that he might have

benefited from kickbacks while he was foreign minister. But the hint of scandal has come at a bad time for the Socialists in the run-up to next Sunday's regional assembly elections.

In calling on Mr Dumas to resign, the rightwing opposition has referred to an unwritten rule that ministers and top officials suspected of corruption should stand down voluntarily.

If Mr Chirac and the conservative opposition can hasten Mr Dumas's departure, the right would regain the advantage in the tense "cohabitation" between a conservative president and a leftwing premier. In the past, the constitutional council has often been accused of being a rubber stamp for the head of state.

Mr Dumas's lawyer, Christian Charrière-Bourgnon, said the former foreign minister was angry at being condemned before he had been officially informed of the questions he would have to answer when he met the judges on March 18.

"We have got to the point where the talk is no longer about Mr Dumas's resignation but who is going to succeed him," his lawyer said. Two examining magis-

trates, Eva Joly and Laurence Vichnievsky, want to ask Mr Dumas about commissions paid over the Taiwanese frigate deal, which was originally opposed by the Quai d'Orsay to avoid offending China. Christiane Deviers-Jouroux, Mr Dumas's friend and business partner, has admitted handling \$50 million in lobbying funds while working for the state-run Elf oil company, already under investigation as the alleged conduit for illicit international deals and bribes.

Her boss at the time, Alfred Sirven, is on the run and the former Elf chairman, Loïc Le Floch-Prigent, has been accused of corruption. Some of the commission was allegedly used to buy Ms Deviers-Jouroux a luxury flat and finance an extravagant lifestyle.

Mr Dumas will be asked about payments of about 21 million allegedly traced to his bank account, and whether kickbacks influenced high-level foreign ministry decisions to overturn opposition to the frigate sale. The judges will then decide whether the constitutional council president should undergo formal interrogation, or *mise en examen*, a long intermediate stage before a decision on possible charges.

Radical policies derail Greens' push for power

Ian Traynor in Bonn

ATTEMPTS by the leaders of Europe's strongest environmentalist movement, the German Greens, to move to the mainstream and prove themselves fit for government were hampered at the weekend when the party adopted radical pacifist and taxation policies.

Meeting in the eastern city of Magdeburg to adopt a manifesto for the general election in September, a special congress called for the price of petrol to be tripled over 10 years and for further eco-taxes, and opposed German military involvement in international peacekeeping missions.

The policies were a slap in the face for the pragmatic and ambitious leaders and will complicate their search for a deal with the opposition Social Democrats if the SPD emerges as the strongest party in September and unseats Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

"Why do the Greens always create unnecessary problems on foreign policy," sighed the party's *de facto* leader, Joschka Fischer, after a vote among the 750 delegates opposed military peacekeeping by a single vote.

Mr Fischer, the party's main vote-winner and its

leader in the federal parliament in Bonn, is touted as a possible foreign minister in a post-Kohl "Red-Green" coalition of Social Democrats and environmentalists.

Mr Schröder, the SPD's rising star and challenger to Mr Kohl, courted Mr Fischer last week. "That Joschka Fischer has great talent in foreign policy too, is beyond question," he said. "No one can dispute that he is a strategic thinker."

'You can't win elections on foreign policy, but you can lose them on it. This congress has hurt our chances'

Mr Fischer has long supported deploying the German military as peacekeepers, as has happened in Bosnia. "A Red-Green government will stand by the fundamental foreign policy commitments and traditions of Germany," he pledged last week, signalling basic agreement with Mr Kohl's foreign policy.

The vote by the congress, however, pulled the rug from under his feet. The defence

minister, Volker Rühe, declared the Greens had been shown to be "irresponsible foreign policy chancers".

Mr Fischer had appealed to his party in Magdeburg to play "discipline and realism" in preparation for government. But divisions were evident with grassroots "fundamentalists" taking on the power-hungry "realists" at the top of the party.

"You can't win elections on foreign policy, but you can lose them on it," the party spokeswoman, Gundula Rostel, admitted to journalists in Magdeburg. "This congress has damaged our chances."

The manifesto demands an end to nuclear power in Germany, a rise in energy taxes, petrol prices of almost £2 a litre, the abolition of military conscription, the dissolution of Nato and the creation of European security structures involving Russia.

Mr Schröder, who boasts a close relationship with leading German car industry executives, dismissed the petrol tax proposal as "rubbish".

The Greens are already sharing power in five of Germany's 16 states and are pegged at about 10 per cent in national opinion polls.

The same polls give the Social Democrats and Greens a combined share of the vote of about 50 per cent.



An Albanian soldier in training after the country's army was put on high alert in response to growing tensions in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo. PHOTOGRAPH: ARSEN CELU

Poles invite Jews to return

Neil Bowdler in Warsaw

POLAND'S president is expected to present proposals this week for the speedy reinstatement of citizenship for 13,000 Jews forced to flee their homeland in an infamous 1968 "anti-Zionist" purge by the communist authorities.

At a ceremony marking the event's 30th anniversary, Alexander Kwasniewski described the purge as "a shameful event in Poland's history" and promised fast-track procedures for former citizens wishing to reclaim their passports.

"It wasn't they who abandoned Poland but it was Poland which abandoned them," the post-communist president said. "This must be rectified."

Purges of suspected Jews from the ruling party, the police and army began in the summer of 1967. Lurking behind them was the Interior Minister, Mieczyslaw Moczar, a former communist guerrilla fighter, who - aided by the security forces - was plotting to impose his brand of "national communism".

An anti-fascist march by liberal Warsaw students in March 1968 gave him his chance. It enabled him not only to purge the universi-

ty of troublesome students and Jewish professors but allowed him to take his battle for party supremacy on to the streets.

Thousands of workers were roped into marches calling for a clampdown on "Zionist" forces and a purge of the country's so-called fifth column.

Mr Kwasniewski's initiative has been largely welcomed by the remaining Jewish population, estimates of which vary from 20,000 to 30,000-strong. Stanislaw Krajewski, a member of the board of the Union of Jewish Communities, called it "a symbolic act and formal acknowledgement of wrong."

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World news in brief

Abacha urged to free political prisoners

NIGERIA'S Catholic bishops urged General Sani Abacha yesterday to release the country's political prisoners and make amends with opposition groups before a Papal visit later this month.

The Pope's three-day visit will begin on March 21 in the capital, Abuja. He will then fly to Enugu and Onitsha, where he will beatify the Reverend Michael Iweke Tansi and hold an open-air mass.

Gen Abacha vowed in November to grant amnesty to some political prisoners, but none has been released so far. He also promised presidential elections later this year. — AP, Lagos.

Farms stance softened

THE government of Zimbabwe has given in to international pressure by softening its controversial programme to seize white-owned farms for landless blacks without paying for the land, a United Nations report says.

The development programme report follows the announcement on Thursday by the agriculture minister, Kumbira Kangai, that 120 farms would be seized immediately — the original number was 1,500.

Mr Kangai also said compensation payments to farmers would "take into account all of the value of the land" and not just improvements such as houses or irrigation. — Reuters, Harare.

Orphans hid in jungle

ABOUT 300 orphans were found hiding in a remote jungle, where they had taken refuge from fighting in Sierra Leone, state radio reported Sunday.

The children, aged between five and 12, had survived on wild roots and herbs since fleeing their orphanages in Makeni last week as the town was plundered and vandalised amid fighting between West African and rebel soldiers.

Some of the children were malnourished, although they had pulled through by eating wild tubers and "anything else they could lay their hands on," said the director of the orphanage, which has not yet reopened. The children are being looked after by families and aid groups in Makeni. — AP, Freetown.

Gunman in Waco siege

A GUNMAN armed with explosives was in a stand-off with police in Waco, Texas, last night after smashing through the gates of a government agency for military veterans.

Police evacuated hundreds of people from the area after the man, aged 61, drove his car through a gate at the Veterans Administration building yesterday afternoon. He has a high-powered rifle. The man was negotiating a list of demands with police. — Reuters, Waco.

Priebke vows to appeal

ERICH PRIEBKE, a former Nazi captain who was sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in the 1944 massacre of 335 men and boys at the Argentine Caves near Rome, vowed yesterday to take his case to the European Court of Human Rights.

Priebke, aged 84, had appealed against a 15-year sentence, reduced to five years due to mitigating circumstances, handed down last July, but the military court sentence him to life. A lawyer for the victims' relatives said Priebke would remain under house arrest until a further appeal to Italy's highest court is heard. — Reuters, Rome.

Avalanche kills 70

AN AVALANCHE hit a snow-covered village in the Salang area of Afghanistan on Saturday, killing at least 70 people, an official said yesterday.

Local rescue workers have retrieved 70 bodies from the area at the foot of the Hindukush mountains, about 75 miles north of the capital, Kabul, but more are missing and feared dead, said a spokesman for an opposition alliance controlling the area.

He said the area, covered by heavy snow, was blocked from the south by the rival Taliban Islamic militia and from the north by snow, making relief efforts difficult. — Reuters, Kabul.

Man with three tongues

CHINESE surgeons have operated on a peasant farmer with three tongues, removing two of them so that he can eat solid food and speak normally for the first time in 20 years, Xinhua news agency said yesterday.

Xian Shihua, aged 32, from the south-western province of Sichuan, had grown a second tongue at the age of five and later a third, the official agency said.

His largest tongue was 13in long, 6in wide, and 4.5in thick, while the other two were 3.5in long and of varying widths and thicknesses, the report added. — Reuters, Beijing.

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Generals urge Israeli PM to take peace road

Julian Borger
Middle East correspondent

MORE than 1,500 reserve officers from Israel's army and police force, including some of its most distinguished former generals, yesterday called on the prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, to abandon his policy of expanding Jewish settlements in Palestinian areas and choose peace instead.

Their published letter — a near-copy of a historic letter sent by retired officers two decades ago which launched the Peace Now movement — said continued Israeli rule over 2.5 million Palestinians might harm the Jewish democratic character and make it difficult for us to identify with the path the Israeli state is following.

The letter was signed by the cream of the country's security establishment from the past decade, including a former army chief of staff, Tsvi Tsur, a former police inspector-general, Yosef Nahmias, the ex-commander of the elite Sayeret Matkal (Mr Netanyahu's former unit), Omer Bar-Lev, and 11 retired major-generals.

Oren Shohar, a reserve general who co-ordinated military policy in the Palestinian territories until his retirement last year, said the current situation appeared as bleak as in 1978, when regional peace talks were at a particularly low ebb.

"The whole thing is frozen. This freeze could reach a violent confrontation," he said. "I hear Palestinians saying they have no hope, no light at the end of the tunnel. It will end in a conflagration."

Israeli-Palestinian peace talks collapsed a year ago after Mr Netanyahu's decision to launch a Jewish settlement in Arab East Jerusalem, which Israel captured in the

1967 Middle East war along with the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The petition focused on Mr Netanyahu's policy of giving political and financial support for the expansion of Jewish settlements on Palestinian territory behind the "Green Line" pre-1967 border. Palestinians fear that the annexation of land by settlements in the West Bank and Gaza is designed to undermine their claims to a national homeland.

"A government that prefers maintaining settlements beyond the Green Line to solving the historic conflict and establishing normal relations in our region will cause us to question the righteousness of our path," the letter said.

Mr Netanyahu's spokesman, David Bar-Ilan, said the government had no objection to the petition. "It's a free country. The question of how to achieve peace while maintaining security is a legitimate subject for debate in any democracy."

Tension in the West Bank showed no signs of abating yesterday, as clashes continued between Israeli soldiers and stone-throwing Palestinian youths. Four Palestinian teenagers were wounded, one of them sustaining severe eye injuries, after Israeli soldiers reportedly lobbed tear-gas canisters and stun grenades into a Hebron school. The Israeli defence force said last night it was checking the report.

The Israeli military killed two guerrillas during a week-end air and land attack in the western sector of Israel's nine-mile deep "security zone" in south Lebanon, the army said yesterday. No Israeli personnel were injured in the action.

An Israeli soldier was lightly wounded on Saturday in the eastern sector of the zone by a mortar bomb fired by Hizbullah guerrillas, the army said.

Briton killed by 'automaton'

Julian Borger
Middle East correspondent

AN ISRAELI reserve army major, Daniel Okef, pleaded guilty yesterday to shooting dead a British tourist and seriously wounding another, but his lawyers said they would argue that his experiences in a covert military death squad two decades ago had turned him into a deadly "automaton".

In the opening exchanges of a trial expected to become a politically charged examination of allegations of systematic human rights abuses by the army, the prime minister's adviser on counter-terrorism, Meir Dagan, was listed as a prosecution witness.

Mr Okef's lawyer, David Yiftach, told the court that his client had acted "like an automaton — without intent or control" when he shot Max Hunter and Charlotte Gibb, two Durham University students, in the Negev Desert last August.

Hunter, aged 22, was killed, but Ms Gibb, 20-year-old girlfriend, survived a close-range shot.

The prosecutor, Yoav Rishon, refused to comment on his decision to call Mr Dagan. But Mr Yiftach said the prime minister's aide had been Mr Okef's commander during the 1970s in a special forces unit codenamed Rimmon.

"He may say that Okef did not take part in any killings ... but according to what he

[Mr Okef] tells me, he did," Mr Yiftach said.

Former Rimmon members have told journalists that the unit hunted and killed suspected Palestinian terrorists in the Gaza Strip as part of counter-insurgency policy in the 1970s, but Mr Yiftach said he had been unable to persuade Mr Okef's former comrades to give evidence.

He said: "Our defence is that [Mr Okef] has an organic defect in the brain, which caused him to act like an automaton with no control."

Mr Okef's wife, Metuka, said last year that he had boasted: "We did things which were unbelievable. There were all sorts of liquidations. We silenced Gaza."

Yesterday Mr Okef sat with his head in his hands as a video of a police re-enactment of the murder was screened. It showed him telling officers that he picked up the British hitch-hikers on the night of August 12, stopping at a layby to show them the stars.

"I just remember the shots," he said. "Next thing I saw them on the ground ... I don't know what happened but I suppose I was the one who shot ... I'm beginning to be afraid of myself."

He said he drove from the scene "in shock". He later tried unsuccessfully to burn his victims' luggage and left it by the road a few miles south. He was arrested days later after a soldier at a checkpoint noted his car registration.

The case was adjourned for two weeks.

International Women's Day



A mother protects her child as they are surrounded by riot police at an International Women's Day protest in Istanbul yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: MURAD SEZER

Gender agenda on the march

Women across the world defied threats, abuse and religious tradition yesterday as they issued an array of demands on International Women's Day.

- In Spain, about 4,000 women marched through Madrid protesting against domestic violence.
- In Warsaw, Polish feminists traded insults with anti-abortion opponents and were pelted with potatoes and eggs by monarchists, while Catholic demonstrators hoisted pro-life placards and sang hymns.
- President Boris Yeltsin showed his ignorance of the feminist agenda when he declared that whereas it was a man's job to "build a house" it was a woman's "to ensure the home is a comfortable one".
- State-run Indian Airlines provided a different perspective. It deployed all-women crews on two international flights.
- In Algiers, 500-600 women took to the streets to demand the repeal of a law which feminists say makes women perpetual legal minors.
- Iran's top woman, official, the vice-president for environmental affairs Masoumeh Ebtekar, told Afghan women Iranian women were "listening to their suppressed cries" under the rule of the extremist Taliban, which Iran says gives Islam a bad name. The opponents were "infidels".

Indonesia headed for economic meltdown

President Suharto and the IMF have fallen out completely, writes John Aglionby

INDONESIA slipped closer to political crisis and economic meltdown yesterday as President Suharto gave his clearest indication yet that he would resist the reforms being demanded by the International Monetary Fund in exchange for desperately needed financial assistance. The ageing dictator also had himself declared the only candidate in tomorrow's presidential election.

"Wherever you look the situation is really frightening," a Western diplomat said. "Last month companies were going bankrupt, prices were soaring and people were losing their

jobs. Now we have hyperinflation, massive student demonstrations, the army having to take pay cuts they cannot afford, and even civil servants being threatened with redundancy."

President Suharto, aged 76, used his nomination yesterday for a seventh term as president to launch a scathing attack on the IMF. He accused it of trying to impose an inappropriate liberal economy on the country he has ruled with an iron fist for 32 years.

He told leaders of the five factions in the 1,000-member electoral assembly his priority was to uphold the

constitution rather than to stick to the accord signed with the IMF in January.

"The IMF package will impose a liberal economy, which is not in line with Article 33 [of the Indonesian constitution]," Mr Suharto was quoted as saying by Yusuf Syakir, a leader of the United Development Party.

"In relation to the IMF, he [Suharto] is firm in his oath as president to implement the constitution."

Indonesia's constitution stipulates the economy should be developed along "family principles", stressing regulated co-operatives rather than the free market.

Analysts now predict total meltdown, particularly as the IMF decided on Friday to delay disburse-

ment of the next tranche of its \$43 billion (£27 billion) bailout to the world's fourth most-populous country. The money will now not be given until next month at the earliest.

'Wherever you look, the situation is really frightening'

cause the IMF is concerned about the pace of reforms.

Suharto and the IMF have fallen out completely, a Jakarta-based banker said. "He clearly refuses to listen to international advice and is blindly

ploughing his own furrow, which means he is effectively digging his own grave. But everyone here is too scared to stand up to him."

IMF demands include reform of the financial sector, and an end to subsidies, monopolies, nepotism and costly infrastructure projects.

"It's not a case any more of the reforms being implemented too slowly for the IMF's liking," the banker said. "The process is going into reverse." Examples include the maintenance of subsidies on sugar, wheat, flour and soybeans, despite promises to scrap them.

President Suharto also promised to give Indonesia's central bank full autonomy on monetary policy. But he

then sacked the bank's governor and several directors last month for opposing his decision to set up a currency board, a particularly rigid form of pegging under which the value of the rupiah would be fixed against the US dollar.

Opposition to Mr Suharto's re-election grew last week as thousands of students across the country protested.

Banned labour leader Muchtar Pakpahan said: "If the current situation continues, and there is nothing to suggest it won't, the country will be bankrupt in two months at the latest. The people who still have jobs cannot afford to eat. And how can the country survive without the workers?"

Africa is 'slave to world aid'

Mamoon Elpisu
in Addis Ababa

UGANDA's president, Yoweri Museveni, criticised the West yesterday for continuing to provide aid to "dead economies" in Africa, thereby encouraging a state of financial dependency.

"Aid is a life-support system for something that is already dead. Aid causes dependency and dependency is slavery," he told the Addis forum, a group of international investors seeking ways of accelerating development on the continent.

"You do not put dead people on [life-support] systems, you bury them."

He lambasted the World Bank and International Monetary Fund for trying to force countries to implement structural reforms without understanding each's economy.

Some African leaders, he said, were siphoning off Western aid instead of spending it on development. — Reuters.

Hindu party set to lead Indian government

Suzanne Goldenberg
in New Delhi

INDIA can look ahead to a reprieve from political chaos this week with the president, K.R. Narayanan, expected to ask a coalition led by a Hindu nationalist party to try to form a government.

As the last obstacles to the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party and its alliance vanished at the weekend when its opponents virtually admitted defeat, concerns about the intentions of India's first avowed Hindu government for 50 years were aired.

Meanwhile, within the BJP itself, there was disquiet about the prospects of transforming a motley coalition into a cohesive and lasting instrument of government.

India's traditional rulers, the Congress Party, had until yesterday been bent on blocking the rise of the BJP in the name of secularism.

The BJP, and a bizarre assortment of regional barons,



Atal Bihari Vajpayee receives a gift from a regional ally

socialists, Hindu extremists and mavericks, won 251 seats in last week's general election, 21 short of an outright majority. The Congress and its allies captured 166, and the regional and leftwing alliance of the outgoing United Front government won 96.

Although the Congress brought about the fall of the United Front government last November, the two blocs threatened to join forces to block the BJP. But the United

Front's resolve wavered after a regional baron balked at the prospect of supporting a Congress-led government.

The Congress admitted defeat yesterday. "It seems we don't have much chance now," party spokesman V.N. Gadgil said.

Their retreat hastens the installation of BJP — although it lacks an outright majority to form government. On Saturday, the BJP elected an elder statesman,

Atal Bihari Vajpayee, as its prime ministerial candidate. Despite the apparent surrender of the Congress and the United Front, hardliners in both blocs are pushing for a re-run of the 1996 elections when Mr Vajpayee's government was defeated in a confidence motion after 13 days.

Today, the BJP will again try to unite its 11 allies on a common national agenda, while staving off a political free-for-all.

Mr Vajpayee and his lieutenants have been desperately wooing two powerful women leaders: J. Jayalalitha of southern Tamil Nadu, who confounded observers by bouncing back from political disgrace and a mire of corruption scandals, and Mamata Banerjee, the leader of a breakaway faction of the Congress in West Bengal.

They have so far resisted, but some observers believe they are simply holding out for more cabinet berths or increased development funds.

The coalition rule may dilute the BJP's own agenda which advocates a robust approach towards India's Muslims, economic protectionism, and a stepping up of the country's nuclear programme.

"At this moment the BJP are so keen on power, they want it on any terms. So on the face of it, it is a fairly consensual agenda," said Mahesh Rangarajan, a political analyst at the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

"The problem lies in what their allies may demand. Their allies have fairly specific provincial interests vis-à-vis their own local adversaries."

The party has already jettisoned parts of its defining ideology such as the demand to build a temple on the site of the ancient Babri Masjid mosque that was destroyed by Hindu zealots in 1992, the revocation of special constitutional status for Kashmir, and the abolition of separate personal laws for India's 120 million Muslims.



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Comment

Axum Diary

Jonathan Steele

RIFLE in hand and whistle in mouth, a policeman races down the runway here every time a plane is due. Children with herds of goats and women staggering under huge bundles of firewood are shooshed to the side of the stoney airfield.

The trickle of tourists who have begun to drop in on Ethiopia's ancient capital since the civil war ended in 1991 are a welcome boost to the town's economy, but in a month's time the rustic runway may host a remarkable air-lift.

The world's largest transport planes are in line to bring home one of the biggest pieces of loot in the long history of imperialism. It is a giant granite pillar or stela, weighing roughly 170 tons, which presently stands in the middle of the Piazza di Porta Capena in Rome.

Put there by Mussolini in 1937, the huge obelisk was seized in revenge for Italy's defeat by Ethiopian forces at the battle of Adwa near Axum in 1896.

It was the tallest and most copiously decorated of a group of carved obelisks which still stand in Axum. The city was once the capital of a kingdom which covered a large part of East and Central Africa and spread across the Red Sea to Arabia. In the fourth century the Axum ruler who erected the obelisks adopted Christianity, and the city is considered the centre of the country's Orthodox faith.

More than 50 years have passed since the obelisk was due to be returned, after the Western allies wrote a clause in Italy's 1947 peace treaty insisting that this piece of fascist plunder be reversed. But governments in Rome found constant reasons for delay.

The tourist boom in Axum which the monument's home-coming is expected to unleash will find a town that has quickly learnt to hush and fleece visitors. "How are you, my friend?" shout the 11 and 12-year-olds who drive the donkey carts, Axum's only form of public transport.

The obelisk which the Italians took was lying in pieces. Everyone agrees that it should be put back upright, though a decision on the mode of transport from Italy has not yet been taken. The quicker air option may give way to a sea voyage.

GIVING back the obelisk creates a precedent for the return of other imperial plunder, from the Elgin Marbles to the Rosetta stone. The movement to bring the obelisk home was partly led by Richard Pankhurst, a renowned scholar of Ethiopian history, who has lived in Addis for long periods since his suffragette and anti-fascist mother, Sylvia Pankhurst, moved to Ethiopia in 1956.

"It's not a question of emptying the British Museum," he says, "but for important parts of a country's cultural heritage there's a case for return." He is pushing for Ethiopia to get back the Maqadala Papers, a collection of 462 manuscripts taken by the British when they defeated Emperor Tewodros in 1869. Written in the ancient language of Ge'ez, six are in Windsor Castle, but the bulk are in the British Library.

The British Council has been paying to have them micro-filmed. This ought to make their return less contentious. Dr Pankhurst argues that although Italy's surrender of the Axum obelisk is a legal issue since it was part of an international treaty, "giving back the Maqadala manuscripts is a moral and utilitarian one. It wouldn't hurt Britain very much. The manuscripts would be of greater use here to Ethiopian scholars than in London." At least there would be little difficulty in handling their transport.

PRESIDENTS ONLY STUCK TO TRYING PRACTICES.



Because we won't say boo, China gets away with detention and torture

Isabel Hilton



THERE is little that China has to learn about the ancient practice of divide and rule. In the old imperial days, before China took to the cruder methods of colonisation by military force, it was her preferred method of controlling the troublesome barbarians on her frontiers. The recent decision by the European Union's foreign ministers not to back any resolution condemning China's human rights abuses at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva this year shows that the old arts are not forgotten. The only surprising part of this sorry episode is how few lessons European governments appear to have learned about China's skills in this respect and how reluctant they seem to apply them.

Until 1996, there was, at least, an annual attempt, in which the United States played the lead, supported by the EU, to bring such a resolution before the commission. There are those who argue the exercise never achieved much since China always succeeded in having the resolutions kicked into touch. But each year the numbers supporting it grew, and the effort that China put into fighting off this threat of public criticism argues that it mattered to China, at least, a great deal.

But in 1996, the mood in the European Union began to wobble. Sir Leon Brittan in the commission argued that his mission to promote trade with China would be easier without these irritating interruptions, and China perceived that the enthusiasm of national business lobbies for her markets could be put to the service of her diplomacy. Despite the rhetoric of freedom employed by enthusiasts for the global market, there is

nothing new about the alliance between business and dictatorship. Perhaps it is not the job of business to insist on human rights, but it is the responsibility of democratic governments. The EU is meant to have enshrined respect for human rights as one of its guiding principles: not only is it one of the basic conditions for membership, it is also a requirement that the EU's agreements with third countries must incorporate a clause defining human rights. In recognition of the fact that considerations of trade, important though they be, do not predominate over the imperatives of liberty and justice.

Two years ago, however, on the fringes of the first ASEAN-EU summit in Bangkok, France began the process of abandoning those principles in pursuit of a series of lucrative contracts. Germany was not far behind and the EU consensus began to falter. The EU decided at the Turin summit that year to support a resolution, but so late in the day that the usual lobbying in its favour was heavily curtailed.

The following year, after a prolonged dispute, there was no common position. In April, as President Chirac prepared to pay an official visit to China, France, followed by Germany, Greece, Italy and Spain, withdrew their traditional support for the motion. Britain and the other partners remained on side. Which brings us to this year, still year zero of the UK's ethical foreign policy and, by a happy coincidence, a moment when Britain holds the presidency of the European Union. Much to hope for, we might have thought, but we were quite wrong. Ethics, it seems, do not stretch as far as China. Britain, this year, opted for busi-

ness over principle. If we were inclined to look on the bright side, we might conclude that China was no longer a major violator of human rights. But a glance at the reports of the US State Department and Amnesty International would swiftly disabuse us. Amnesty's latest report on China says, "The past year saw the arbitrary detention of possibly thousands of protesters and suspected government opponents, the continued imprisonment of thousands of political prisoners, grossly unfair trials, widespread torture and ill-treatment in police cells, prisons and labour camps and the extensive use of the death penalty." China is a big country, but even allowing for that, the figures remain impressive. "Despite some legal changes," according to Amnesty, "Chinese legislation still allowed more than 200,000 people to be detained in 1997 without charges or trial for re-education through labour."

THE argument against supporting the Geneva resolution is two-pronged: China is anxious to save face, the old China hands of the Foreign Office say, so there is more to be gained by "quiet diplomacy" than by public gesture. Secondly, China has demonstrated that she will retaliate against the business interests of countries that do take a stand.

In support of the first, the mandarins point to signs of progress. Once China had created disarray among the EU partners over the Geneva resolution, Beijing offered to resume the "dialogue" on human rights with the EU, broken off after EU support for the 1996 resolution, and last year signed the United Nations international cove-

nant on economic, social and cultural rights. There is also the promise that Mary Robinson, the UN Commissioner for Human Rights, will be permitted to visit China — and some legal reforms that the optimists point to as evidence that China is inching in the direction of the rule of law. These, we are told, are the successes of quiet diplomacy.

But China has still not signed a twin covenant governing civil and political rights and, as those luckless trade negotiators who have struggled for years to get China to honour her obligations on, for instance, intellectual copyright discovered long ago, the fact that China has promised something at diplomatic level does not mean that anything changes on the ground. The legal reforms were substantially cosmetic: the charge of counter-revolution, a charge that has wrecked the lives of millions over the years who were rash enough to express a thought inconvenient to the regime, has gone.

But its replacement, the crime of "endangering national security" serves just as well. As two senior officials of the UN working group on arbitrary detention have just reported, the regime is able "to arrest and harass persons who may be peacefully exercising their fundamental liberties such as free speech and assembly."

The European Union is in the invidious position of undermining the UN human rights commission by arguing publicly that their own "dialogue" behind closed doors — is effective. As a victory for ethics, it's the shoniest as convincing as selling arms to Indonesia.

Polly Toynbee is away

Unfair to the fun-fair

Peter Preston



THREE little words. "It's only television." Jerry Springer, the ratings wonder of American late-night talk shows, produced them again for Joanna Coles in the Guardian a few days ago — as he always does, so disarmingly, when interviewers get too uppity about the fornicating freaks who fill his studio. The Father of my Child has turned into a Woman. Why worry? It's a living. It's only television.

By chance this weekend I was rummaging in a cupboard and found the forgotten coat. It is black, in finest wool, thick like a carpet: maybe £350 or so at today's prices somewhere along Bond Street. But the coat goes back 30 years. It was given to my father-in-law when LT, his boss of many decades, died, to remember him by. But six weeks later my father-in-law died too: and so the coat came south, through occasional outings, to rest in obscure peace.

LT was the man, from the 30s to the 70s, who owned, ran and built Blackpool Pleasure Beach. My father-in-law was his company secretary and calm right hand. I miss him. I can still see him at the usual table in the Horseshoe Bar through the long evenings of duty attendance, puffing his way through packets of Senior Service and sipping a dry martini as trouble came running in from the lights and noise outside.

Tonight he might have been on television. Pleasure Beach, the docu-soap, reaches the end of the roller-coaster. The same old trouble — drunks, missing kids, demonstrators, pick-pockets — comes with a BBC camera team at its shoulder. Another piece of human life is set beside agonising in the Adelphi hotel or tensions at Tesco or chaos on a cruise liner: the TV flies which (yawns or no yawns) still cover every wall this winter. We see, therefore we experience.

But seeing isn't believing, even a little, about the world beyond the keyhole of the lens. And I know Blackpool Pleasure Beach.

THERE are stories here to grip any imagination. How, over a century ago, William George Bean from Chelsea, the son of a river pilot, went to America and saw the burgeoning of the fun-fairs. How he came to Blackpool losing its middle-class gentility and bought the stretch of sand at the end of South Shore. How he became the Napoleon of the Dunes.

How, when Bean died in 1929, his only daughter, Doris, inherited the crisis and the challenge: and how her young husband, Leonard Thompson, fresh out of Oxford and the Swedish Match Company, was summoned to the family colours in the teeth of the great depression.

This is, and always has been, family business. It is, and always will be, an enthralling one because it is a constant gamble year by year. Fashions change with brutal speed. The fun-fairs boom and bust like the States were moribund tips by the 30s, mired in inner city decay, wrecked by the death of public transport. The essential, perennial task is renewal through huge capital expenditure. New rides, new wonders, new summonings of the blood.

And, because it's family business, the family matters. Doris Thompson lives on, a magisterial presence. Her son, Geoffrey, has built again. There will be an absorbing political moment, I guess, when one of the three children — Amanda, Fiona and Nick, all involved — gets a hand on the brake of The Big One.

But where, on screen, is there the slightest hint of this? Mrs T, at 94, was just a gallant extra riding on some £2 million whoosh of a space

tower. Geoffrey hasn't dropped a single unguarded word. There's not even the merest genuflection to understanding.

Big dippers, show after show, go up and down. Well, they do, don't they? There are third-grade scuffles on busy days. Teenagers get woozy. Ice statues fall on their backsides. Someone is stuck in the River Caves. Much time is spent stroking a fertility symbol newly arrived from Polynesia.

And — crucial point — the "ordinary people" have all cottoned on. They know the form now. They're acting away for the cameras with all the dedication of a candy floss machine at full throttle. Amanda of the Ice Show remembers Joan Collins in Dynasty. JR, the ground manager, keeps smiling in adversity because he absolutely knows everything will be fine in the end: because he knows the disability protesters are going nowhere. These are canny northern show folk, giving the southerners from the Beeb the full treatment, and smirking at their credulity. They reckon, you see, that it's the setting that counts, the smell of the greasewood, the roar of the crowd. Give the boys the pictures they want and everybody's happy.

Well, good luck to them. They're smart. No publicity is bad publicity. And this is magnificent publicity. But we're getting back to Jerry Springer again.

I wonder if docu-soaps were ever remotely truthful. The first great one, with Queen, Duke and children playing happy families on the lawn, was clearly a monstrous con-



The television flies (yawns or no yawns) still cover every wall this winter

fection. Better the Munsters than that. Occasionally, since then, we have seemed to see something more insightful. Take The House, a first rough draft of Gerald Kaufman's Opera House report, played out in living red mists. But the team who made that have also made Pleasure Beach, so even there — looking back you have to wonder. Were the upper crust demons of Covent Garden too stupid to act up for the camera? Did they somehow think it beneath them? Or were they, perhaps, orchestrating their wracking dramas to amuse the groundlings?

When I picked the thick old coat from the cupboard, I remembered many things. LT hunched inside it, a clever man exuding clever power. Ernie Freedman tinkling away at These Foolish Things in the Au Savarin restaurant whilst little girls in aprons from the Isle of Man served the Sole Waleska. The white knuckles waiting to see whether the millions spent on the Log Flame would ever come back. The endless anxieties as Costa packages stripped Blackpool of its Lancashire regulars, and the relief when Scots swarmed down to fill the gap. The smiles when recession meant that Lancashire couldn't afford Benidorm any longer and had to make do with a day trip to the South Shore.

I remembered, in short, a world of romance and risk and calculation. I'm sure that world lives. But I have given up on the illusion that TV will ever take a golden shot and show it to me. After all: it's only television.

The Government is worried about public safety — too much so?

Fear of killers

Ray Rowden

MENTAL health policy is in a muddle. While expert research by the Sainsbury Centre will today show that care in the community can work successfully for people with severe mental illness, Government thinking seems to be moving in the opposite direction. In a much-leaked review, it would appear that the starting point of public policy for the mentally ill must be protection of the public. Safety, it seems, is to be top of the policy pops.

This approach is wrong. We are in danger of forgetting that the primary aim of mental health services is to prevent distress where possible and to serve those living with mental illness with good diagnosis, treatment, rehabilitation and care. Services may have a secondary role in support-

ing those who care for the mentally sick, and in reassuring the public, but these are not primary tasks. There is a risk that we are allowing the tail of public safety to wag the policy dog.

There has been a degree of political consensus since the 1960s that old-style, institutional care in large mental hospitals is damaging.

The malign effects of over-reliance on institutional models of care have been well documented and captured in a string of inquiry reports through the 1970s and 1980s. We know that institutionalisation damages people on a grand scale. In recent years, though, high-profile cases of killings by mentally ill people, most notably Christopher Clunis, have conspired to fragment consensus and undermine public confidence.

We also know that as the bleak asylums were run down, too little money in

many parts of the country was channelled into alternative patterns of care for the mentally ill.

Part of the flaw in policy formation has been that too much of it has been developed in a top-down fashion. Users and survivors of services, and front-line practitioners, have little opportunity to shape thinking. There is ample evidence of creativity and innovation in user groups, yet funding for such groups is often short-term and minuscule.

INSTEAD of civil servants driving thinking, or grand committees sitting, let's use new communications technologies and techniques to engage users and practitioners in thinking fresh thoughts about how things might be better. In other areas of health care, such as HIV/AIDS and cancer services, an alliance of enlightened professionals and service-users has pro-

duced bold solutions for shaping policy. It is time we did the same in mental health.

People living with mental illness need the same things out of life as do the rest of us. They need meaningful relationships based on

Perhaps it is time for us to find the money for a mental health champion

trust; they need reasonable housing, adequate money in their pockets and access to some choices in work and leisure.

Too often, statutory health services focus primarily on clinical diagnosis and the prescription of medication. The holistic needs of people are often marginalised or ignored. Is it any

surprise that mentally ill people fail to engage statutory services?

This problem is exacerbated by the structure at the top of the NHS executive. At director level, there is not one person who has built a career in planning and delivering mental health services. Below this level, policy charged with developing policy are thin on the ground.

If government can find money for a new drugs czar, perhaps it is time to find the money for a mental health champion who would sit as a director on the NHS Executive with the clout to advise ministers directly and to carry sufficient weight in the service and the professions.

Ray Rowden, former chief executive of the high security psychiatric services commissioning board, is visiting professor of health studies at York University

the road to peace

Letters to the Editor

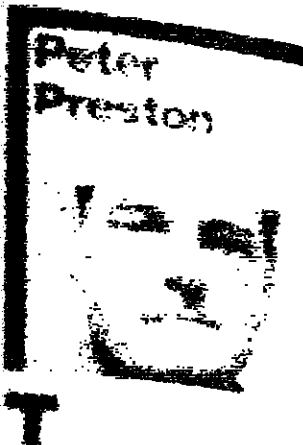
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Watersley

Unfair to
the fun-fair



The road to peace

Oslo-Dayton-Belfast

TODAY begins the last and most crucial stage of the attempt to bring peace to Northern Ireland. Those gathered at Stormont face a dauntingly tight deadline. They have a matter of weeks to bury their most deeply-held differences and forge an agreement — one they can sell to their respective communities. London and Dublin have pencilled in May 22 as the day for simultaneous referendums, north and south, where the people will either approve or reject the settlement the parties came up with. The rules of the Irish constitution mean any referendum bill has to be passed in the Dail 30 days earlier. So nationalists and Unionists have perhaps six weeks to settle a war which has divided them for decades, even centuries. The pressure could not be greater.

Optimists in the two governments, typified by the ever-resilient Mo Mowlam, have

their hearts set on an "inclusive" deal, accepted by the ultra-loyalist parties at one end and Sinn Féin at the other. A more likely scenario, say the less optimistic, is a non-inclusive consensus of the moderate parties — led by David Trimble's Ulster Unionists and John Hume's SDLP. The hope is that if these two — who speak for a majority of the Northern Irish electorate — can agree, perhaps the Troubles will finally be over. But if the "hardmen" oppose such a deal, even one approved in a referendum, they would almost certainly order a return to the very violence the peace process was meant to end. We would be back to square one.

No, the only peace worth having is an inclusive one — an accord respected by the representatives of the men of war. For that to happen, the two central players at the talks will have to start engaging with each other, face to face, as the majority of Protestants want, according to a poll for BBC Northern Ireland last week. It is absurd that David Trimble and Gerry Adams are still not speaking directly to one another. Nor is the Unionist leader preparing his own constituency for the sacrifices inevitable in any deal likely to be acceptable to the other side. It is the absence of these two elements — direct engagement and a public recogni-

tion that compromise is unavoidable — which gives the greatest grounds for despair. Gerry Adams yesterday warned his supporters of the sacrifice to come — admitting that a united Ireland would not be theirs this time. But David Trimble still looks like he's been dragged to the talks table reluctantly and in pain. Put simply, he seems like a man who has not yet made his peace with the idea of peace.

And yet recent history shows that the only talks which have worked are those founded on one enemy's under-the-skin acceptance of the other. By the time Yitzhak Rabin came to meet Yasser Arafat on the White House lawn, the psychological deal was done. When FW de Klerk released Nelson Mandela he had already decided apartheid would have to end. All that had to be sorted out were the details. It is this psychological acceptance of compromise that is still missing in N Ireland.

The answer is to learn from the 1990s' two most successful peace processes. The parties should copy the Bosnians, Croats and Serbs — who produced a settlement locked away in a US air base — by getting away from the media glare of London, Dublin and Belfast. They need to be in a place where they can actually get to know each other. Meanwhile, lower-level Unionist and republican officials

should ape the Israelis and Palestinians who formed a back-channel by bonding over long weekends in Norwegian country retreats, thrashing out their differences. It's been left far too late, but there might still be time to mount such an effort right now: after all the killing, the road to Northern Irish peace might just run through Dayton and Oslo.

Hillary's Diary

Bridget Jones heads for DC

Monday 9 March

Alcohol units 0 (never touch the stuff), cigarettes 0 (smoking ban in White House still holding, despite BC's habit of chewing unlit cigars in crisis), lumps thrown at BC 2 (v angry).

SO-CALLED Zippertgate scandal still rumbling on. Now closest friends are being hauled before ludicrous Grand Jury to testify on what did the President grope and when did he grope it. Can't stand that word, Zippertgate. It's absurd: doesn't Ken Starr know I tried putting a full five-bar gate on Bill's zipper back in Yale? Even then he couldn't keep it locked. Am so depressed

with daily humiliations have resorted to seeking outside advice. Wanted to hook up with Eleanor Roosevelt via seance, but last time tried that got in trouble with press — Bonkers Hillary Talks to the Dead, etc, etc. Tried to contact Chelsea, via e-mail. Instead was bombarded with vile Internet jokes about BC: "Bollsters have asked America's women whether they would sleep with Bill Clinton: 83 per cent said, 'No, not again.'" Aaargh.

Finally had brainwave. Invited Helen Fielding, Brit author of best-selling Bridget Jones's Diary, to come to Washington. Yesterday's London Sunday Telegraph — part of the vast right-wing conspiracy-out-to-destroy-my-husband (British Section) — claimed I want a heart-to-heart with BJ to talk about BC. Actually couldn't be more wrong. Real reason: I need advice for life as Singlewoman. Should I ever throw one last, fatal table lamp at BC and kill him — or if I take a leaf out of poor Diana's book, and leave the cheating old goat. After the next election, of course. Life could be hellish, especially if the Smug Married Gores move into my house in two years' time. Also: weepy that Bill gave horrible trollop Monica L. gift of Walt Whitman poetry. He gave me the very same volume after our second date. Now where's that tub of ice cream...

Letters to the Editor

Of fraud and femininity

SURELY the Tories cannot be allowed to get away with their scandalous behaviour over rail privatisation (Analysis, March 6). Could not the Ministers involved be impeached for misuse of public office? Can Ministers behave in such a grossly irresponsible way, dispose of public assets for ludicrous sums in pursuit of political ends, and not be held to account?

Tony Cheney, London.

AT THE same time as the Government is planning to get people with disabilities off benefit and back to work, it is making this much more difficult for a significant group of people — those with diabetes treated with insulin. At ready they are banned from many jobs — Armed Forces, police, working in Antarctica, boat skippering, professional scuba diving, holding PSV and HGV licences etc. Now the Government is choosing to implement an EC directive as strictly as possible and remove the current permission to drive C1 and D1 vehicles (vans 3500kg to 7500kg and minibuses with eight to 16 seats).

Jean Sinclair, London.

AS A Canadian in Paris, I don't share Liane Katz's grim view of the city (Fear and loathing in Paris, March 5). This is not to deny that her experience is real, but it is not every woman's experience. In my three years here I've dealt with nothing more apocalyptic than the occasional unwelcome remark or pick-up line. Nobody has grabbed my arm in Chatelet metro station or harassed my carriage. I am still able to walk alone, even at night. Attitudes to women here are different: living here has made me feel more feminine. Katz might translate this into weakness and vulnerability, but these are not traits I associate with French women, nor with myself.

Rosa Jackson, Paris.

China behind the Times

AFTER eight years' exile in this country because of my involvement in the Tiananmen pro-democracy movement in 1989, I went back to see my family in China (Game, set and match to Patten, March 7). As soon as I arrived in my home city, Qingdao, I was put under house arrest. The police came to my home and declared that I was not welcome in China because of the comments I had made overseas. If it had not been for pressure from journalists at the BBC, Reuters and The Times, I might have disappeared in a provincial place like Qingdao and ended up in prison.

I spoke to both James Pringle, who was based in Peking, and Jonathan Mirsky in Hong Kong. James was cautious. He told me that Jonathan had been banned from entering China. If he did write something while I was still in China it would be harmful to me. He said I could tell my story when I was in the free world. Jonathan was prepared to do anything to help me. After I was expelled from Shanghai to Hong Kong for "activities incompatible with my status",

Jonathan interviewed me and wrote a report about the harassment, arrest and detention I was subjected to. But the report never appeared in The Times. This was exactly three months before the handover. I agree that The Times was not covering China and Hong Kong in a serious way at that time. Those international journalists reporting in China are playing a vital role in promoting the free flow of information in the region.

Liu Hongbin, London.

WRITE as an author who has successfully used a publisher (Oxford University Press, 1990-91) for breach of contract and whose case might have been cited by Chris Patten against Harper-Collins and Rupert Murdoch. Publication by Harper-Collins is now clearly damaging to an author's reputation. After all the malfeasance that has been exposed by the affair, HC and Times readers, editors and writers themselves will henceforth always be wondering whether the publishing, perhaps self-inflicted, is at work: what, besides the mere his-

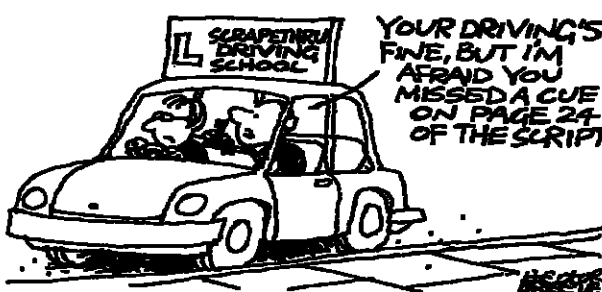
tory of modern China, are we being spared?

Andrew Malcolm, Brighton, East Sussex.

IN her otherwise excellent article (Don't complain that the free market rules our lives: you voted for it, March 6), Decca Aitkenhead states: "only government has the power to control the business world". True, but Ms Aitkenhead is guilty of the naïveté she condemns in others if she believes that government will control the business world.

How else can we explain the tobacco lobby's success in exempting Formula One racing from the ban on cigarette advertising, or the willingness of governments to cede power to the Multilateral Agreement on Investment? Governments of all complexions are subject to exactly the same market forces as the companies they try to control. This often leads to governments safeguarding the economy, ie business, at the expense of their citizens.

Suzanne Wright, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffordshire.



Change gear to rapid rebuttal

IN Driving School, we did not deceive the viewers with "fake" L-driver scenes (is nothing sacred? March 2). We used the latest technology to place tiny cameras in the drivers' cars and capture events and reactions entirely as they happened. Along with its light-hearted and jocular title sequences, the programme's tongue-in-cheek style distinguished it from more serious documentaries.

To link the characters and the driving material, with the complete agreement of the participants, we constructed scenes faithful to their lives. Clearly, our cameras couldn't be with them 24 hours a day, so, for example, we reconstructed the scene showing Maureen waking her husband to test her on the highway code, something which she had done on more than one occasion. We believed that this approach would not detract from our viewers' enjoyment — a fact borne out by Driving School's massive popularity.

Jeremy Gibson, Head of Features, BBC Bristol.

AS EXECUTIVE producer of the series, I want to respond to Desmond Christy's review (March 6). There is nothing in the series to justify the charge that Mosely was presented as "an essentially decent chap". He is clearly shown as an arrogant, manipulative opportunist who knowingly unleashed a monstrous wave of terror against British Jews.

It may be uncomfortable and it may not confirm Des-

mond Christy's prejudices, but it is also a matter of record that he began his political life with an avowed commitment to the working class, that he championed the Irish, that he was adored and practically worshipped by thousands of people (Nye Bevan was one of his admirers), and that he did indeed call off the Fascist march through the East End when the police requested him to do so.

This does not make his actions any less the less repulsive. But if you insist on having portrayed villains in drama as puppets, then you won't recognise them in real life.

Guy Slater, London.

Wharves adrift

SAFFRON Wharf was originally designed as a very simple, spacious, office building by Conran Roche (Colonisation, Space, February 27). It has recently been converted to a lot of small apartments by Berkeley Homes, in a way that is not sympathetic to the original architecture and is certainly nothing to do with us, but would probably be ideal for somebody with suburban aspirations.

Berkeley's Wharf is being converted into a South Bank version of Dolphin Square. If the Economist students felt like revolting, I would certainly join them, but, unfortunately, the streets have already been dug up by the developers.

Terence Conran, London.

Stop pussy-footing around Milosevic. Save Kosovo

YOUR article entitled "World powers act on Kosovo" (March 5) should be retitled "World powers must act very quickly on Kosovo". Robin Cook has "warned" Mr Milosevic he faces harsher economic sanctions if the killings in Kosovo do not stop. Milosevic couldn't care less. He knows Britain won't lift a finger to aid innocent people being killed in Kosovo. Because Britain, despite lots of stern warnings, didn't manage to deter or prevent any violence, mass murder or appropriation of land by the Serbs in the recent obscene war in Bosnia.

Ten days ago I visited friends in Bosnia Herzegovina. They made me all too

aware that the majority of Bosnians feel that Britain's inactivity during that war amounted to a tacit approval of Serbian aggression. At the weekend, I telephoned my friends in Sarajevo, who are receiving reports from colleagues in Kosovo. The figure of 30 dead at the hands of Serbian secret police is a gross under-estimate. In one village alone, apparently 50 were shot on Thursday night. There are strong rumours that concentration camps have been restarted in the area just north of Kosovo.

Robin Cook is quite right to contribute £2.2 million towards the exhumation of the murdered dead from mass

graves in Bosnia. But for the preservation of the living in Kosovo what is desperately needed are not words (Or, God forbid, money sometime in the future to help exhumate the dead) but action.

Unfortunately and shamefully, I know in my heart that the next headline will read "World powers do nothing in Kosovo".

Simon McBurney, (Director, Theatre de Complicite), London.

Please include a full postal address and telephone number. We may edit letters; shorter ones are more likely to appear. The Country Diary can be found on Page 15

Endpiece: Rupert the rotter

Roy Hattersley



A COUPLE of weeks ago I watched — entirely by mistake — the television broadcast of a rugby international. To my astonishment and horror, the referee had a radio microphone in his back pocket. So viewers, at home in their arm chairs, could hear him reproving players for committing various offences against the arcane rules of that strange game.

Two thoughts came simultaneously into my mind. The first that eavesdropping on what was said to a forward who had just bitten off an opponent's ear does not contribute much to Corinthian admiration of the finer point of play. The second was the assumption that Sky hoped to

attract customers who think that rucking is illegal below the age of 16 but like to intrude into private arguments. In short, I blamed Rupert Murdoch.

Ten years ago, after I had criticised Mr Murdoch for his treatment of the print unions, the head of public relations in his London office wrote to complain of my unfairness in attacking a man who was unable to defend himself in print. At first, I thought it was one of those letters that people send out in the hope of publishing gullible replies. But the lady who signed it continued on the telephone that she thought it immoral to take advantage of a man who had so little chance of expressing his views in public. Anxious to avoid a second surreal encounter, I justify my suspicions before I speculate about them.

These days, it is the little things which most frequently disturb me. I am incensed almost every Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon by the way in which Sky Sports advertises its forthcoming attractions. The BBC promotes television football with pictures of star players striking poses which will be familiar to anyone who remembers photographs of Bette Davis

and Lana Turner in 1940s Movie Magazines. But Sky has a montage of such fearsome physical confrontations that I expect to hear the sound of breaking bones above the cacophonous music. And Sky trailers for boxing matches are — like the so-called sport itself — hideously brutal. Mr Murdoch's attitude towards both sports television and newspapers is in the great tradition of George M. Cohen: "Nobody ever went bankrupt by underestimating the taste of the general public".

So, reinforced by 20 years' evidence of how Mr Murdoch makes his money, I took it for granted that he was personally responsible for Harper-Collins' decision to dump Chris Patten's book on Hong Kong and for the attempt to pretend that the manuscript had been rejected because of its poor quality rather than Murdoch's determination not to antagonise Beijing. Yet people whom I normally respect have assured me that I misjudged the man. One of them actually said: "He's not the Dirty Digger that he used to be". Remembering that Mr Murdoch had exchanged his Australian nationality for United States citizenship in order to buy American media

companies, I could hardly argue with that particular contention. But it did very little to convince me that he was a sea-green incorruptible.

Perhaps I ought to marvel at Mr Murdoch's capacity to believe whatever is necessary for increased success and greater glory. Or else, having pioneered Page 3 prurience would have had the brazen gall to accept the Pope's accolade — thus becoming a Papal Knight of the Garter, the sash and belt and the novelty bra? It may be his chutzpah which so many distinguished commentators find attractive. I put aside the possibility that they were in any way influenced by being on his payroll.

PUT all such unworthy thoughts out of my mind when I listened to the House of Lords debate on predatory newspaper pricing. Only three peers spoke against, making special provision to prevent one newspaper attempting to drive another out of business. Two of them declared themselves to be independent directors of Times Newspapers and the third was a Times columnist. In the House of Commons they would have been shouted (or at least sneered)

down. But the Lords — being more aristocratic and politically listened to their complaint that enthusiasts for a free pluralistic press were biased against Rupert Murdoch. Unfortunately, not having made my maiden speech, I could not (as they say) "rise in my place to intervene" with the assurance that indeed I am. On the record, no other attitude is reasonable.

The record includes Mr Murdoch's flexible views on politics — supporting in Australia, Great Britain and New York whichever party seems likely to win and then relying on the warm feeling of gratitude to guarantee the Government's sympathy towards his cause. It was, before last, Mr Murdoch's British tabloid supported Labour until Ted Heath's unexpected victory in 1970. The subsequent conversion was so spectacular that it may have influenced the Pope's decision to knight the paper's proprietor. Murdoch remained a Heathite until Margaret Thatcher took over the Tory leadership and denounced her predecessor as a dangerous red. Mrs Thatcher then became God. Within a year of her becoming Prime Minister, Rupert Murdoch took over the Times

and Sunday Times without reference to the Monopolies Commission. He escaped the provisions of the 1973 Fair Trading Act when the Government concluded that both papers were so near to bankruptcy that, unless they were sold, they would go out of business. Ministers had somehow missed the £4.8m of revenue that put the Sunday Times into profit.

By 1997, the opinion polls had swept him off his feet again and — forgetting what he owed the Conservatives for treating satellite companies so generously in the Broadcasting Bill — the Sun became New Labour. If Tony Blair telephones Gough Whitlam in Australia, the old Labour leader will tell him how Mr Murdoch treats governments which fail to deliver. The Democrats in New York will complete the story with a footnote of how demanding he can be with local politics. Indeed, several days could be occupied in pursuing ways in which courtship during opposition is assumed to produce immediate consummation in Government. To save time, it is probably best just to think the worst of Mr Murdoch. If sometimes it is a misjudgment, he has only himself to blame.

Thought for Food.



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10 OBITUARIES

Martindale Sidwell

Keeping the choir on song

IN the history of 20th century church music, Martindale Sidwell, who has died aged 81, will have a place as the man who built what was probably the finest parish church choir in the country, rivaling and even eclipsing the musical standards of many of our great cathedrals. He was also known as a fine organist and founder of the London Bach Orchestra.

When he arrived as organist and choirmaster of Hampstead parish church in 1946, he found the choir sadly depleted. He set about recruiting a group of boys and men and trained them to such a high standard that by the 1950s the choir's reputation spread far and wide with broadcasts, prestigious recordings, concerts with Otto Klemperer and Josef Krips, soundtracks for film and foreign tours.

Sidwell was born into a musical family at the village of Warton, Warwickshire. His father was an accomplished amateur operatic tenor, and

his mother played the piano. At seven, he gained a place as a chorister at Wells Cathedral, where he was to become a leading treble soloist and, later, sub-organist. The regime was strict, and while he learned to love the music and its place in the liturgy, he also had to endure the regular beatings handed down by Canon Thomas Davis, the cathedral's organist and precentor. (Perhaps this harshness coloured Martin's future relations with the clergy. Following an interview for a cathedral job, he recounted how the chapter had asked him what he thought of the adults in their choir "the first thing I'd do is to sack the lot or them". He did not get the job. Nor was he ever appointed to any other cathedral.)

On leaving Wells, he auditioned unsuccessfully for a place at the Royal College of Music, but immediately gained a place as a first-study organist at the Royal Academy of Music.

Following a spell in the



Sidwell... his stern countenance was cast aside over the post-rehearsal drink

army from 1939 to 1942, Sidwell became acting organist and choirmaster at All Saints' Church, Leamington Spa. While he was there he married the pianist Barbara Hill, with whom he had two sons.

Two years later he took the unusual step of accepting a plurality appointment — that of organist and director of music at the newly restored central church of the Royal Air Force in St Clement

Danes, London. He and Ralph Downes tonally designed the spectacular Harrison and Harrison organ, and much of his weekends were spent driving furiously between Hampstead and the Strand, collect-

ing copious parking tickets on the way.

Although now internationally known as a choir trainer, he was also a fine solo organist, often broadcasting live on the BBC Third Programme and bringing a capacity audience to its feet in the Royal Festival Hall to applaud his performance of Bach's *Fantasia and Fugue in G minor*. He was also directing the Hampstead Choral Society, the Martindale Sidwell Choir (a mixed professional group), and teaching at the Royal Academy of Music. In 1967, he founded the London Bach Orchestra which became, in effect, orchestra-in-residence, of the newly opened Queen Elizabeth Hall. They played regular concerts to near-capacity audiences — a pattern which was to continue well into the 1980s.

I first met Sidwell on joining the Hampstead choir as a bass in August 1966. The highlight of our week was the full-choir rehearsal each Friday evening. He ran rehearsals with an iron efficiency and a

stern countenance which we all knew would be cast aside the moment we reached the pub for the post-rehearsal drink.

He was the master of the put-down, goading us into greater efforts. To a hapless boy — "I'd just sung like that I wouldn't have had the audacity to sing a solo that was obviously beyond me — 'My boy, what you need is more cornflakes every morning'".

Versatile, witty, disarmingly blunt, supremely musically, Martindale Sidwell's influence will live on. His words from 40 years ago still ring clearly in my ears — "You try running your own choir and find out how hard it is." I did, and, of course, he was right.

Barry Rose

John William Martindale Sidwell, organist and choirmaster, born February 23, 1916; died February 20, 1998



Eve Brook... 'You had to put up or shut up'

Eve Brook

From mill to town hall

EVE BROOK, who has died from cancer aged 53, was one of those Labour councillors who entered local government with experience of social movement politics to draw on. In this they differed from the earlier era of industrial shop stewards and the future breed of consultancy and marketing experts.

Born into a strong Labour family in the mining village of Hemsworth, Brook spent her formative years in Bradford. The only teenager from her working-class estate to win a place at the posh Catholic grammar school, she nevertheless trod a well-worn path to the textile mills.

The turmoil of the late 1960s reshaped her life. Joining a Bradford women's group gave her new ways of seeing. The working-class girl whose mother had always encouraged her to read realised that she had the same talents and abilities as the students and professional women she now met, discussed and campaigned with. She separated from her husband and after studying sociology at Bradford University moved to the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham, the city where she settled.

In the early 1980s Brook entered the political mainstream. "You couldn't go on forever, meaning about Labour councillors being old, male, trade unionists," she recalled. "You had to put up or shut up." She won the Moseley ward — Conservative for the entire 20th century — on the fourth go in 1986 and held it ever since.

SHE gave political voice to an enormous campaign against a motorway being driven through south Birmingham, and supported the city's cultural regeneration.

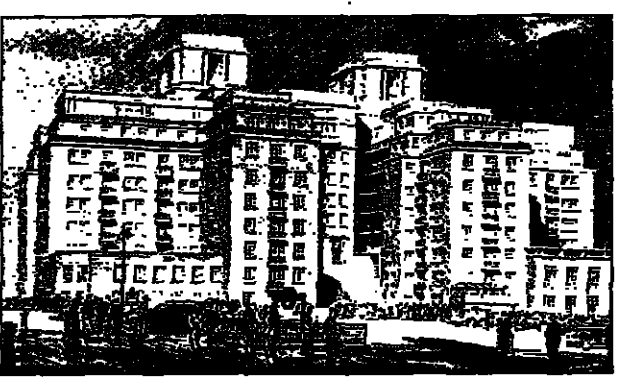
From 1993-1997 Brook chaired social services, setting in place schemes for the elderly, people with learning difficulties and children in care. Having worked with mental patients she knew only too well the reality of mental hospitals but wasn't prepared to accept community care at any price. She believed in proper funding, her own officers and the health authority on this issue saw her at her fiery best.

Brook never forgot her roots and was never happier than in the five years she spent at the Birmingham Tribunal Unit on behalf of social security claimants. To the end she remained a loquacious advocate of a modern left: she never confused feminism with power dressing, or reforming the welfare state with dismembering it. Lively and sociable, she had just finished writing one of her books when she died.

She leaves her husband, the playwright David Edgar, and her sons, Sean and Nigel.

Jon Bloomfield

Frances Evelyn Brook, politician, born May 8, 1944; died March 3, 1998



Alexander Gray

View from a Bentley

IN 1939 Alexander Gray, who has died aged 92, won the competition for the redesign of St George's Hospital at Hyde Park Corner. The war halted the project, the hospital was eventually relocated to Tooting, and the original building became a hotel. Yet the competition made Gray's reputation. His drawings were seen by Sir Hubert Young, Governor of Trinidad, who liked the design, contacted Gray's practice and invited it to design the new San Fernando Hospital. Thus was the first overseas office of Watkins Gray established in Trinidad — run by Gray.

He trained at the Royal Academy School of Architecture, where he won the RA's Gold Medal in Architecture, judged by Sir Edwin Lutyens. This made possible study travel in Italy and an involvement with Lutyens which no doubt started his lifelong interest in Edwardian architecture.

He joined the Bristol practice of WH Watkins in 1932 and shortly after designed Bath's classical Forum Cinema, now a listed building.

Soon after came his design for St George's, and this resulted in a partnership in Watkins Gray, the forerunner of the present Watkins Gray International.

After the San Fernando Hospital, Gray designed other major buildings in Barbados and British Guiana and designed the Trinidad Hilton Hotel, in collaboration with an American firm of archi-

His achievements led to the practice being hired to design more than 100 hospital projects worldwide

He came back to Britain twice during the war, and returned permanently in 1947, by which time his reputation as a hospital designer was established. The firm was appointed architects for the rebuilding of Guy's Hospital in London, as well as for a

Casualty of war... the winning design for St George's Hospital (left) never left the drawing board. Nevertheless, it secured the career of Alexander Gray (right) ILLUSTRATION: ARCHITECTS JOURNAL



history of Hampstead Garden Suburb, where he lived for 30 years. The word for "a chatter-upper" is *draguer*, and *bluenose*, welcome (in the caption) needs the final e.

Gray's profound interest and knowledge of Edwardian architecture was assisted by his use of a large, mature drophead Bentley which, driven around London with the roof down, afforded an excellent view of the architecture. Travelling with friends and professional colleagues amounted to an historic architectural tour. But since the focus of attention was usually at rooftop rather than road level, it meant that nervous passengers sought polite excuses to travel by bus.

In retirement he wrote what must be one of the most comprehensive books on Edwardian Architecture, as well as a book on fanlights and a

daughter, Ann. He is survived by a son, Alex, and a daughter, Hilary.

Ivor Berresford

Alexander Stuart Gray, architect, born July 15, 1905; died February 20, 1998

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

IN AN article headed, Irish in Britain, I wrote that the Government was coming under renewed pressure to recognise people of Irish origin as a separate ethnic minority group in the light of evidence of widespread discrimination against the Irish in Britain. We immediately went on to refer to Britain in this context as "the mainland". We do not do that.

ON PAGE 10, G2, March 5, in

an article headed, How green is my weedy?, we said that Michael Meacher was "the first Cabinet Minister to take part in a protest march against his own administration". Mr Meacher is not a Cabinet-rank Minister.

AN ARTICLE headed, Actor's ode to "Wally" and the King rescued, which appeared on page 12 of some editions on February 27, seemed to imply that Sidney Holloway was the author of the monologue. Albert and the Lion. He was

not. It was written by Marriot Edgar.

IN AN article headed, Dear Mr Cameron, (page 11, G2, March 2), we wrongly suggested that Kenneth More (whose name was misspelled) played First Officer Murdoch of the Titanic in the Roy Ward Baker film, *A Night to Remember*. In fact, in that film More played the Second Officer, Charles Lightoller.

THERE were a number of mistakes in the French in the

article headed, Fear and loathing in Paris, pages 2 and 3, G2, March 5. The word for "a chatter-upper" is *draguer*, and *bluenose*, welcome (in the caption) needs the final e.

THE AIRCRAFT blown off the runway before take-off at Leeds airport, (page 1, February 28), was a Saab 340, not a Sabre.

IN A report on page 4, March 5, we referred to Andrew Miller, "a reporter for the

radio station Campus FM". The name of the station is Storm FM. The programme for which Andrew Miller reports, The Six O'Clock Show, is sponsored by the Guardian.

It is the policy of the Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor, Ian Mayes, by telephoning 0171 239 5688 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Fax: 0171 239 9897. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk

Jackdaw



Middle youth

TO consume what's cool, what's edgy, has historically been to consume what's at the margins of society. Thus, what's also poor, extremely, extremely un-userfriendly and culturally valueless.

To give meaning to the frippery of consumption Middle Youth must pretend there's some cultural validity to these things. This means bestowing cultural value where there is none. This approach puts shooting up in a Glasgow tenement on a par with buying a new pair of trainers. Middle Youth and the media people who could be classed as such, think that because they want to know about Nike

Air Spans or that Air come from Britain, this is culturally interesting. Everything has to be contextualised in some spurious cultural framework: "club culture", "drugs culture".

Adults steal youth culture — Modern Review.

Soup opera

CHICKEN soup heals the world. The French may add pink garlic and goose fat; the Thai may ginger and chilli, while the Jews float their generous, gooey dumplings, but no regional idiosyncrasy can undermine the fact that chicken soup is an international panacea. According to where it is eaten, a bowl of steaming chicken soup will cure everything from influenza to impotence, from yin/yang imbalance to a broken heart. I long to taste Indonesia's chicken soups. Their fowl are tough and tend to end their days in the pot rather than in the oven. In my book this means good soup. The long, slow simmering — just a gentle blip really — renders the flesh tender enough to carve once the

broth has been supped. Enriched with coconut milk, ginger and curry leaves and coloured with the deepest yellow turmeric, it is, in its own way, as rich as the cream-laced French versions. Food Illustrated's Nigel Slater ticks in.

Son of a gun

LOTS of kids have celluloid heroes they get to look up to and idolise, but what do you do when your father is a



Chicken... heals the world

movie star? In my case that was still my dad, I wouldn't have traded the life I had with him for anything. He was more of a real, hands-on father than a lot of my regular friends' dads. I mean, I never saw their old men park the truck, hop over a fence, and play lunchtime kickball with the elementary-school crowd, which dad did all the time.

And he also had a superior take on discipline. One time when I was really little I found some shotgun shells that my friends and I were going to go hit with a hammer; but luckily my mom caught us before we could. Instead of giving me a beating, dad did a very smart thing: He took me outside and loaded both chambers of a shotgun, held the butt about four inches from my shoulder and had me pull the trigger. I got the shit bruised out of my shoulder, but suddenly understood the power of a bullet.

Chad McQueen in *Details*.

T-time

SLASH literature — fan produced stories on imaginary

romantic entanglements between the characters of shows such as *Star Trek* and *Starship* and *Hutch* — bloom on the Internet. But now a new mutation of this genre concentrates on the talents of everyone's favourite eighties heavy metal — Mr T. With the exception of *A-Team* re-runs, or a repeat showing of *Rocky III*, there isn't much going on for the fan of the T.

This partly explains the growing number of home-made "Mr T Versus" pages popping up. Beginning with one fan crudely photoshopping images of Mr T and Superman together and adding comic book balloons to create "Mr T v Superman". See Mr T save the world from the evils of everyone from Bill Gates and Darth Vader to Satan; or watch him battle against the Spicegirls. From *Esquire*.

Jackdaw wants jewels. E-mail jackdaw@guardian.co.uk; fax 0171-713 4366; write Jackdaw, The Guardian, 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER.

Hannah Pool

A Country Diary

WAYLAND, Norfolk: It was sad to think that in Britain this is an increasingly rare scene — five brown hares jostling on the horizon in a wild caper. Two were running round until the female must have decided she had had enough of his nonsense and turned to square up to him. Rising on her hind legs she towered momentarily over the pursuing buck, struck at him with her foreleg, then in one continuous and extraordinary mid-air manoeuvre, fell away and twisted back round onto all fours. During this she caught him with her knock-out blow — a hard backward kick with her hind leg — and off she scampered, leaving her failed suitor stunned and in obvious discomfort.

While the doe weighs less than the buck, in these to block his unwanted advances, which usually signal she is not yet in breeding condition. But over the course of the year she will probably mate repeatedly and can raise as many as four

litters. Even more extraordinary is the fact that she can conceive a second time even before the more advanced fetuses have been born. Conversely, if conditions are not suitable for bearing young, embryos and terminate the pregnancy.

Despite the flexibility and economy of these reproductive strategies, which allow hares to sustain losses from many natural predators, the fastest mammal in Britain has not been able to outpace countryside changes to the early 1990s revealed that they have suffered an 80 per cent decline since the beginning of the century. Surprisingly, they have lost ground most in Wales and western England, while East Anglia, despite the arable intensification and the disappearance of many woods and hedgerows, has become an important refuge and may now hold as many as one-fifth of the 800,000 remaining hares.

MARK COCKER

Birthdays

Air Marshal Sir Roger Austin, president, Royal British Legion, 58; Bill Beaumont, sports commentator, 46; Juliette Binoche, actress, 34; Andre Courtes, couturier, 75; Bobby Fischer, chess champion, 55; Neil Hamilton, former Conservative MP, 76; Mickey Spillane, novelist, 80; Keely Smith, jazz singer, 80; Robin Trower, rock guitarist (Procol Harum), 53.

Death Notices

COLLIER, Edith Muriel, formerly of The Old Devonian Society, died on Tuesday 2nd March 1998. A funeral service will be held at St. Helen's Church, Camberwell, Surrey on 28 February 1998 at 2.15 pm. All flowers and sympathy to Belmont Funeral Home, 151 Millwood Road, Brighton, Tel: 01273 821444.

In Memoriam

CHILD, Anna, died 9th March 1894. Loved and remembered always by Frances.

Births

GARNER, S & D (née McKean) wish to announce the birth of their son, Thomas, born 28th February 1998, weighing 7lb 10oz, 50cm long. MTC place your announcement telephone 0171 467 0111 or fax 0171 713 4728 between 9am and 5pm Mon-Fri.

Britain
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Eve Brook
From
mill to
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Britain can make it again

Labour has opportunity to
reverse tide of history by
recognising it can be key
player in industrial strategy

Larry Elliott

FOR British companies groaning under the weight of a crazily overvalued pound, the Government has seemed strangely indifferent. Not so. With the trade figures deteriorating rapidly, ministers are putting on their best bedside manner and saying to exporters: "We understand your pain. Trust us." Take this exchange between Helen Liddell, Economic Secretary at the Treasury, and Labour MP Austin Mitchell, who warned in a recent letter that the economy was heading for depression later this year as a result of sterling's over-valuation. "The pound is now back at the levels which proved so disastrous and crippling in the ERM," Mr Mitchell wrote. "Then, over-valuation led to the second great industrial blood-letting of the Tory

period, and we are now preparing for the third." Ms Liddell replied: "The Government fully understands and shares your concern over the strength of sterling and the effect this is having on exporting firms and manufacturing industry. The Government's central economic objective is to achieve high and stable levels of growth and employment." After this encouraging start, Ms Liddell's letter deteriorates into the Government's mantra about the need to create a stable economic environment and avoid the horrors of boom and bust. But, as Mr Mitchell points out, the 25 per cent appreciation of the pound in the past two years is a source of chronic instability. What is more, far from avoiding boom-bust, the Government has both at the same time — boost in the services sector, bust in manufacturing. Moreover, its remedy for boom is to make bust even worse. As Charlie Bean, of the London School of Economics, has pointed out, the main transmission mechanism for monetary policy is to make life tougher for the export sector by lowering competitiveness. So much, so obvious. Monetary policy matters. Manufacturers do better in a cheap-money environment, and

Britain's policy-makers have a predilection for dear money. Measured by relative export prices and relative unit labour costs, Britain's goods are dearer abroad now than at any time since the early 1980s. But is this the whole story? Unfortunately, it is not. Italy's macro-economic performance over the past 20 years has been worse than Britain's, yet Italian manufacturing output has risen by 70 per cent while Britain's barely increased at all. The CBI's view is that Britain's problem is that it has a cadre of world-class companies (a group broadly congruent with membership of the CBI) and a long tail of under-achievers. However, according to the Department of Trade and Industry, even Britain's star performers tend to have lower productivity than those on the Continent. "We could still be the Workshop of the World were it not for a) the Government b) the level of the pound c) the unions d) a lack of skilled labour or e) a combination of all of the above. But, two centuries after Watt, Arkwright and Stephenson, it may be time to face up to an alternative hypothesis: we are not very good at manufacturing. If that is so, there are two questions to be asked. Does it matter and, if so, what

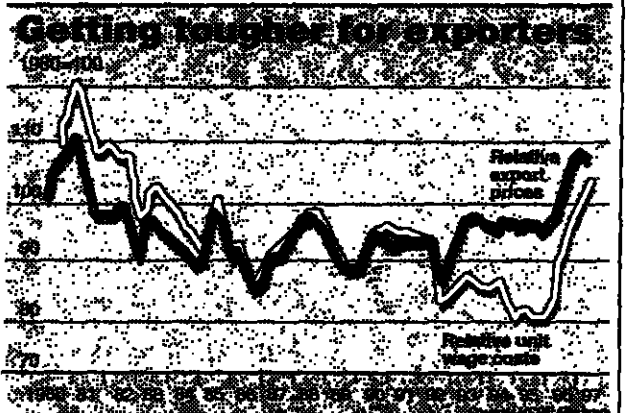
should we do about it? In the 1980s, there was a school of thought, led by the then chancellor, Nigel Lawson, that too much fuss was made about manufacturing and the service sector was the wave of the future. Lord Weinstock of GEC famously took issue with the Government, claiming that without industry there would be nothing left to service. Weinstock argued from a position of strength: GEC was Britain's premier manufacturing company, and still is. In their illuminating new book, Alex Brummer and Roger Cowe pay tribute to Weinstock's successes. "Dur-

ing a period when British manufacturing was in steady decline, GEC not only survived but prospered for most of that period. He certainly left the company in a much stronger state than when he took over." But this is a war-and-all account, not hagiography. The biography reveals Weinstock as a bean-counter, although on a monumental scale. GEC built up a massive

nerve it could have been a big player in two of the growth industries of the 1990s: computer chips and mobile phones. The announcement by the Defence Secretary, George Robertson, last week that he wants Britain to emulate the US and get more civilian spin-offs from its vast investment in defence is a sad testament to decades of squandered opportunities. Mr Robertson is right to demand a more interventionist approach: one theme of Brummer and Cowe's book is that industrial success is not linked to a pure free-market approach. On the contrary, the two great success stories of post-war manufacturing, defence and pharmaceuticals, have been the result of flagrant buy-British procurement policies from state-run monopolies — the Ministry of Defence and the NHS. Weinstock saw nothing wrong in this. He was not a slavish devotee of laissez-faire economics and his opposition to privatisation, although partly driven by self-interest, also stemmed from the belief that the programme was a dead end. Despite the sell-offs the Conservatives failed to resolve what the government's relationship with big business should be. For all the free-market rhetoric, min-

isters from both parties order British tanks because they are British and scrap a German roof for the Millennium Dome because it is German. Multi-national companies expect — and receive — sweeteners from the Government to set up plants in the UK. Britain has an industrial policy, but it is worse than useless because it is focused almost exclusively on the needs of big business, gives the Government less clout in the way industry is run than a fund manager at the Prudential and is devoid of strategic goals. In social policy, Labour is trying to develop a multi-agency approach, so that action to alleviate poverty on run-down estates is co-ordinated between departments. It recognises that the state has a role to play. Yet there is no sense that the same intellectual rigour is being applied to manufacturing, to bring together ownership, regulation, education, research, procurement and macro-economic policy in pursuit of an overall strategy. When the US was under threat from Japan in the mid-1980s, programmes sponsored by the federal government, individual states, business and labour organisations sought to provide subsidies to manufacturers to reorganise pro-

duction systems, improve use of hi-tech equipment and to develop networks for interchange of ideas and best practice. There is no reason why the same should not apply here. Given the Government's robust stance on global warming, Britain could become a world leader in environmental technology, set to be one of the big money-spinners of the next 50 years. It won't happen by chance and the Government should not hesitate to use its clout — including the use of "golden shares" — to bring about change. To some, any suggestion that the Government has a role to play smacks of "picking winners". But the problem, as the creation of the modern GEC in 1988 showed, was never picking winners but bailing out losers. And if industrialists should complain about undue interference from Whitehall, in the free market, the Government can always turn off the money tap. That should shut them up. Alex Brummer and Roger Cowe's book, *Weinstock: The Life and Times of Britain's Premier Industrialist*, is published by HarperCollins at £24.99. To order at a discounted rate of £19.99, telephone 0500 600 102 or send a cheque payable to Guardian CultureShop, 250 Western Avenue, London W3 9EE.



Generals who are still fighting the last war — against inflation

Debate
Colin Hines

SPARE a thought for Gordon Brown, almost buried alive by the avalanche of pre-Budget submissions. These special pleadings arrive daily from social welfare groups, environmentalists, the TUC and countless academics. They travel hopefully but are doomed because they miss two key factors, one a threat and one an opportunity. First, the Budget is likely to rob the elderly Peter to pay for the education of Paul. Adequate overall increases are ruled out, because Mr Brown is intent on shadowing the continental welfare curbs deemed necessary for the single currency. Opportunity lies in the fact that this could be the last Budget premised on the monetarist gradgrinding of curbing inflation. Budgets after this are far more likely to be desperate attempts at countering a retreating a sagging world economy. It really is depressing how much smarter Alan Greenspan and Robert Reich are than Mr Brown, Tony Blair and the UK's supplicant army of single-issue lobbyists. The chairman of the former US Reserve and the former US Secretary of Labor both realise the scale of the threat posed by the coming world de-

flation, whereas here the debate is over which begging bowl should catch how many crumbs from the New Labour feast of Euro-Lent. Mr Reich recently warned in the Financial Times of a grim global amalgam of an east Asia of toppling currencies and bank insolvency; rising unemployment in Brazil and falling real wages throughout Latin America; stagnation and unemployment in Europe; and the global importer of last resort, the US, rapidly approaching a limit to the capacity of Americans to take on more debt. Political generals like

Personal horror stories are assembled, percentage figures of GNP deployed here versus there banded about. All well tried, but alas these are not buttressed by the realisation that their demands taken together could play a key role in building defences against the as yet barely discerned deflationary tidal wave. These cutbacks need to be fought on the grounds that they are yet another significant contributor to the likely coming decline in purchasing power — an almost inevitable consequence of the global economic pneumonia looming should we catch Asian flu.

work right out of the water. Finally, global deflation will result in a sharp fall in the returns to be made from the stock markets. At a stroke, the copious personal provision of private pensions becomes even more of a pipedream. It really is high time that the Government realised that expecting the return from the likes of Asian shares to bail out our welfare system is about as passé as looking to Korean factories to help solve our employment problems. What is to be done? General Blair and Brown must shut wailing and crying against deflation and set about increasing demand. A real leadership role in Europe would be to call for an immediate halt to the madness of the monetarist, demand that the single currency. The next step is to recognise that the basic cause of the Asian crisis is that too much global money has flown uncontrolled into the region. In Hong Kong, the FILITE — Failed in London Try Hong Kong — have been replaced by the FARTS — Fired Abruptly Reviewing Tropics. If Messrs Blair and Brown do not wake up to the coming deflation, events will overwhelm them. Surely they do not want to be responsible for the unenviable epithet, "New Labour, Old Farts"?

Export or die in UK plc's intellectual vacuum

Worm's eye
Dan Atkinson

A PUNCH cartoon of many years ago featured a nervous-looking subordinate summoned before his boss, who — visible to the reader but not the subordinate — was concealing a gun behind his back. The caption underneath read something along the lines of "Are you familiar with the expression 'export or die', Perkins?" Today's launch of the latest export promotion

scheme — this one from the Department of Trade and Industry to shower prizes on small and medium-sized exporters — could not help but bring to mind the unfortunate Perkins. It is not simply, as discussed elsewhere on this page, that exporters strangled by the strong pound might prefer something more substantial than DIT scout badges. It is rather that the export drive is taking place within an intellectual vacuum. Free-market theory declares that exports are nothing special. In fact, were the rest of the world to dump everything this country needs on

Dover beach free of charge, we would not need to export a bean. Meanwhile, from another flank, green economists suggest that exports represent exported unemployment — not just not good, but positively bad. Both views present exports as merely sales of goods outside the home market. As the advert has it, Heineken Export is the world's favourite import. Furthermore, Britain seems historically prone to the consumption of other people's exports, from Swiss watches to Zimbabwean roses. Older pubs often have "imported

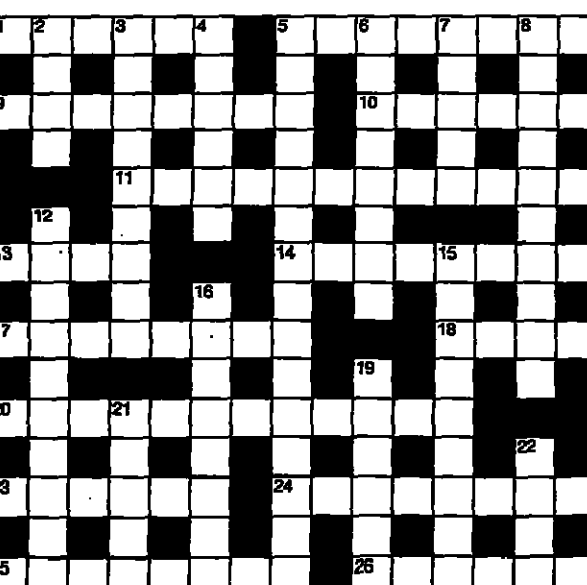
wines" etched on the frosted glass, and the Cusper service has never been asked in the general good-will shown the police. Now it would be entirely possible to counter-attack, and build the case for exported growth. But that would run the risk of accusations of "corporatism" and "trying yesterday's failed remedies", so it is never done. Instead, there is vague blather about "Britain's success" and head-patting schemes such as that launched today. Nobody would bother to shoot the poor Perkins these days. They would just ignore him.

Pressure group reactions to outmoded policies are hopelessly fractured

Messrs Blair and Brown are both still fighting the last war — the one against inflation. They are still rallying around the Thatcherite colours of curbs on public expenditure and no more taxes for the rich. They are appealing the business blitzkrieg by capitulating to central bankers and obeying policies made by ennobled businessmen they have promoted into their own ranks. For their part, the critics content themselves with skirmishes against this or that ancient strategy. Pressure group reactions to these outmoded policies are hopelessly fractured and partisan. The usual suspects make the usual responses.

Yet, where in the oceans of UK coverage of welfare cuts has the European deflationary engine of the single currency's convergence criteria been fingered as a culprit? Those opposing the cuts need to have this broader view. The coming deflation will be a triple whammy for the present priorities of Labour. Their curbs on public expenditure will hit the last remaining reasonably paid, labour-intensive sector, and so further increase the problem of declining demand. The fall in global demand via rising unemployment is something the UK will not escape from, and this in turn will blow the flagship welfare to

Guardian Crossword No 21,217



- Set by Rufus
- WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 21,216
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are Alison Thomas of Hefock, Guyard, Ian Storey of Sheffield, John Dingley of Macclesfield, C. W. Watson of Canterbury, Kent, and Graham Longbottom of Redburn, Hertfordshire. Please allow 28 days for delivery.
- 24 Winter trip? (4,4)
25 Inclination to fade away, in general (8)
26 Rows of pictures (6)
Down
2 Experts break the case (4)
3 Take choir in a new version of what may follow "Jerusalem" (9)
4 Lake contains silver in very small quantity (6)
5 Celebrates moving on, takes him a gift (5,1,5,2,2)
6 Grand occasion, of course (8)
7 Bill free of bitterness? (5)
8 Domestic breathing space? (6,4)
12 III-used vehicle (7,3)
15 The principal's sound memorial (9)
16 One interested in film can see it develop (8)
- 19 Climbs and balances (6)
21 Late entry by monarch causes great apprehension (5)
22 Surrender the church keys (4)

Indicators

TODAY — G10: Central Banks meeting.
E10: Ecofin meeting.
UK: Producer prices, input and output (Feb).
UK: Industrial production (Jan).
TOMORROW — JP: Current account (Q4).
WEDNESDAY — UK: Minutes of February MPC meeting.

THURSDAY — US: Retail sales (Feb).
US: Import prices (Feb).
US: Current account (Q4).
FRIDAY — UK: Balance of payments (Q4).
UK: National accounts (Q4).
US: Producer prices (Feb).
Source: HSBC Markets Limited.

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 2.384	Germany 2.928	Malaysia 6.34	Singapore 2.63
Austria 20.54	Greece 463.52	Malta 0.635	South Africa 7.31
Belgium 60.22	Hong Kong 12.33	Netherlands 3.278	Spain 245.97
Canada 2.267	India 64.91	New Zealand 2.75	Sweden 12.95
Cyprus 0.855	Ireland 1.173	Portugal 296.68	Switzerland 2.871
Denmark 11.19	Israel 5.89	Turkey 367.340	US 1.001
Finland 8.948	Italy 2.891	Saudi Arabia 8.04	
France 9.757			

Supplied by Reuters (excluding rupee, shilling and malawi)

Solution tomorrow

NEWSPAPERS SUPPORT RECYCLING
Recycled paper made up of 40% off-sets material for UK newspapers in the year of 1997

ARFPT

Holder holds up England batting test



Jumping Joachim ... but Aston Villa's scorer, challenged by Chelsea's Michael Duberry, missed this time

Matteo, although the Welshman received scant support from Dean Holdsworth. Bolton need the latter to start scoring immediately.

It was not until Steve McNamaman changed flanks and gears that Bolton came under pressure. Neil Cox had sauntered through the majority of the first half against Oyvind Leonhardsen. Once McNamaman began to run at Cox, and outpace him, Liverpool's confidence grew as their opponents' diminished.

٥٥٥ من المجلد

Chris Hawkins on a jockey who is finally reaping the rewards for his bravery

Thornton stays in the fast lane

Thornton stays in the fast lane

Southwell all



Miss Knight, who is married to former top jump jockey Terry Biddlecombe, but still trains under her

shawe, proved that he can more than hold his own in senior handicap company and plans to run him in the Scottish National or the Whit-

Michael Hourigan, whose 18-year-old son Paul part-

ing Gordon Richards in a Kelso gallop on Friday. But the trainer wants him to have another racecourse workout somewhere this week.

Coltart enjoys a win double

gave him a seven-under-par 281, three ahead of Spain's Jose Sota and the overnight leader Fredrik Lindgren of Sweden.

Title crowns a wonder week for Siemerink

Australia win shoot-out

Chavez, six times a world champion at three different weights, took his record to 100 victories, two defeats and two draws and *Canelo* has now been beaten only once in 44 fights.

the No. 23 Fergal O'Brien in the Thailand Masters, writes *Cube* Everton. "I hate this place," said Hilegins. "The practice tables are a disgrace." Martin Clark and Alain Robidoux travelled to Bangkok together to dispute a place in the last 16. Robidoux, the Canadian No. 1 who has not won a match since reaching the world semi-finals last spring, led 4-0 but lost 5-4.

Tergat shows title class

KENYA'S Paul Tergat showed that he is top form two weeks before he defends his world cross-country title by romping to victory in the Five Mills race in San Vittore Olana, Italy. He shrugged off South Africa's Hendrik Ramaala in the closing stages.

3.15 MARKHAM MOOR HANDICAP
6f £3,420 (10 declared)

1st	0-0152	Robin Hoyle (3) (9)	1. Morgan Hall 5-10-4	
2nd	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	
3rd	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	
4th	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	
5th	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	
6th	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	
7th	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	
8th	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	
9th	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	
10th	0-0142	Robbie Macleod (7) (10)	1.30 13-8-12	

1m 4f £2,232 (10 declared)				
1 (71)	000-03	Polar School (99) H Callaghan 4-8-12	T Hughes	85
2 (7)	40-623	Star Hawk (146) (99) F Hoon 6-9-12	K Fallon	85
3 (8)	0600-3	Northside Hawk (148) (81) J Gidley 5-9-12	D Griffiths	85
4 (6)	50-554	Stoneycracker (218) A Bailey 6-9-12	C Lowley	80
5 (2)	4160-0	Star Captain (201) (5) D Morris Smith 5-9-12	J Bowler	80
6 (8)	111350	Dundee School (160) (80) J Barrow 10-8-12	Martin Drayner	80
7 (6)	0350-0	Foxglove (134) (80) J Nash 6-9-12	P Fenny 34	80
8 (8)	6331-1			

POSSIBLE 32-1 - Blue Blazer: Always behind. 6th of 13, 1st behind after Livelylight & Sayeth, with Angeline Bata pro. 7th pulled up 4 cast, at Taurion 21st nov did. 4th Unlitt. The Debutante Promenade, crossed hinter 7th to rest, soon withdrew and exited. 4th of 10, 2nd behind tanks at Leicester 24th nov did. 13th Tamarisk pulled hinter, after 2nd and 3rd, 1st behind 4th of 7, 2nd behind Isidore Lord Murphy at Sandown 29th nov did. 4th Altheimwood. Lord 59, 2nd behind 1st, very close.

POSSIBLE 32-2 - Blue Blazer: 1st behind 4th of 7, 2nd behind Isidore Lord Murphy at Sandown 29th nov did. 2nd behind 1st, 6th-8th. 6th of 10, 1st behind. 10th of 13, 2nd behind. 1st behind 4th of 7, 2nd behind 1st, 6th-8th. 1st behind. Promenade until 5th, 7th of 10, 4th behind Polar Progress at Taurion 21st nov did. 1st behind. 1st behind until pulled up at the 6th in a race won by Little Breeze at Harwood 23rd nov didn't did. 4th Beldubine. 2nd.

4.30 DISCOVER THE ISLES OF SCILLY HANDICAP HURDLE
3m 3f £2,845 (7 declared)

11/4-0	Norville Point (19) Simon Eadie 9-12-0				
3-11	Balmucciana (49) GJH M 10-1-7				
21/95F1	Bullens Bay (16) B Llewellyn 3-11-6				
SF600S	Copper Col (12) R Buckner 6-10-0				
		R. Johnson			
		A P McCoy			
		F. Macdon			60

	COMMENTARY	RESOLV
NEWTON ABBOT	771	781
SOUTHWELL	772	782
ALL COURSES COMMENTARY	0891 222 780	

BOLD FAITH, the preferred mount of Kieren Fallon in Division 2 of the Retford Handicap at Southwell today, looks the best bet

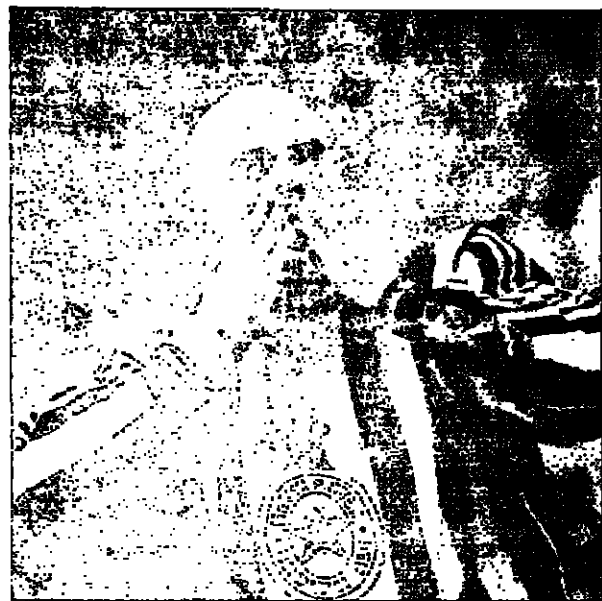
ing 7lb claimer Victoria Appleby on Depreciate (3.15), the signs are encouraging for a return to form by the David Barron-trained sprinter.

Trainer watch

COURSE SPECIALISTS

Horses having their first run for a new trainer today — Newton Abbot: 3.30 Rachel Louise, T Keady to M Bolton.
Southwell: 2.15 Groucho, R Charlton to N Babbage. 3.45 Cee-N-K, M Johnston to E Aiston.
4.15 Leigh Crofer, J L Harris to J A Harris. 4.45 Candy's Delight, Mrs S J Smith to J Norton.

Football: FA Cup sixth round



Ketsbala kiss... he strikes Newcastle's first goal DOUG HALL

Dublin jaunt works for all but Gillespie

Paul Hayward sees Newcastle rebound in winning fashion after a bizarre week

AFTER this last week's book on team-building may have to be rewritten to encompass the chaotic nights in Dublin and the subsequent return to the Premier League, the book on the best player, Newcastle's was the sort of bonding exercise that does not involve lectures and tea with Will Carling in a morning.

Wolves and Sheffield United are the sole custodians of the romance in a competition where the music of chance is supposed to be more important than the size of a club's orchestra. Still, the way Newcastle's season has been, perhaps we should include them in the ranks of potential giant-killers. They endured crushing disappointment after a bright start to the Champions League and before the start of the Premiership. A victory in the FA Cup final would have an increasingly morose Tyneside roar again.

Early in the game a local man was instructed to leave because in a matter of seconds his baby was the star of Newcastle supporters' mad. The club have been stuck at that point for some time. Supporters are a mix of the old and the new, but the club have been stuck at that point for some time. Supporters are a mix of the old and the new, but the club have been stuck at that point for some time.

on a day when the Tynes could have frozen over. So Newcastle advance to a semi-final against Coventry or Sheffield United and Barnsley return to grabbing at lifeboats at the bottom of the Premiership. It was hard to suppress a sense that Barnsley's season slipped away from them yesterday and that that was a bad thing, because they deploy far more than raw native spirit. Surely they are more than the sum of their parts but seem likely to go down in a blaze of Yorkshire stereotypes, Tyke-tastic, and turn off the lights as you go.

For Newcastle, the game was also about saving a grueling season and reassuring the club's backers that the Dublin excursion was not an example of school's out being called too early. Though Kenny Dalglish refused to comment, it was reasonable to assume that Keith Gillespie was in football's equivalent of solitary confinement, bouncing his baseball against the wall à la Steve McQueen. Visitors to Dublin tend not to be so easily won over by the club's managers, but the club have been stuck at that point for some time. Supporters are a mix of the old and the new, but the club have been stuck at that point for some time.

Having struck the pavement in Dublin (supposedly), Gillespie was made to hit the road again. The official explanation for his absence yesterday was that he had "diarrhoea", perhaps brought on by anxiety over his future at the club. He was unable even to take up a place on the substitutes' bench, perhaps because it was just that bit too far from the toilets.



Pearce power... the veteran left-back brushes aside the Barnsley striker Ashley Ward

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROSS KENNEDY

nation for his absence yesterday was that he had "diarrhoea", perhaps brought on by anxiety over his future at the club. He was unable even to take up a place on the substitutes' bench, perhaps because it was just that bit too far from the toilets. Gillespie's stupidity in acquiring a head wound or perhaps hedonism wound, and then getting himself arrested for an earlier offence allegedly committed in a Gateshead hotel said more about his own destructive tendencies than the potential for decadence throughout the club. But, this being football, people are scared to address

inescapable truths in an open and adult way. "A lot of people get a lot of pleasure and a lot of joy from other people's misfortunes," said Dalglish after the match. "The boy's taken a bit of stick this week. A lot's been in the papers and a lot of rubbish spoken." The details of Newcastle's quasi stag trip are not important. What is more interesting is why British players generally are just about unique in feeling that steam has not been let off until a couple of fire extinguishers have been drained and at least one of the squad has had a brush with Inspector Knacker.

Perhaps it was all part of the plan. Go to Dublin, cause a row and then create a winning siege mentality. If so, Dalglish is a better psychologist than we thought. If the Tango Man went to weight-watchers he would end up looking and behaving something like Temu Ketsbala. It was Ketsbala who benefited from Gillespie's omission - sorry, absence - with a sterling performance that proved his talents stretch far beyond unscheduled strip-teases and the destruction of advertising hoardings. Ketsbala scored Newcastle's first after 17 minutes before Gary Speed added a second. With

Andreas Andersson accompanying Shearer they are a better balanced side yet still lack the precision and fluency they will have to develop if they are to surge back into the top half of the league. Dalglish was in maddeningly defensive form. No change there, then. A perfectly reasonable question about how close Shearer is to recovering his imperious form of old was met with a bizarre monologue about everybody "wanting to have a pop at Alan". Such questions are much in the air. Who was on the pop in Dublin, and who had a pop at who? Now nobody on Tyneside cares.

Leeds Utd 0 Wolverhampton Wanderers 1

Winning system and Goodman to finish job

DAVID LACEY

THIS time it has taken a company of Wolves to give the FA Cup some real bite. By beating Leeds United 1-0 at Elland Road on Saturday, Wolverhampton Wanderers have reawakened the possibility of a team from outside the Premiership reaching the final for the first time since the old Football League split up six years ago.

Before Saturday only Luton Town had represented the new First Division in an FA Cup semi-final, losing 2-0 to Chelsea in 1984 - although last season Chesterfield represented the Second Division with distinction. Now, with Sheffield United taking Coventry City back to Bramall Lane for a sixth-round replay, the chances of at least part of Wembley going Nationwide on May 16 are beginning to look extraordinarily good.

This is the stuff that dreams are made of, believed Don Goodman, who scored Wolves' winner eight minutes from the end. It was hardly an original thought and Goodman was presumably talking about the result rather than a largely scrappy match, but nobody could argue with the sentiment.

The 31-year-old Goodman was born in Leeds and was once a ballboy at Elland Road. Two years ago he suffered a fractured skull and initially had to wear a headscarf when he began playing again after a six-month absence. More recently he has been kept out by a damaged Achilles tendon.

Like Steve Bull, another whose career has been blighted by injuries, Goodman represents the solid bedrock of English professional football. Both deserve a day at Wembley.

For Hans Segers, Wolves' Dutch goalkeeper, it was less a case of a dream coming true than a nightmare being laid to rest. Segers was one of three players cleared of match-fixing after two trials. On Saturday, after living for so long with a goalkeeper's fear of a penalty, he saved one to deny Leeds a replay. It was only Segers' second game in two years.

For Leeds, losing at home to First Division opposition in the FA Cup has become a habit. Wolves merely followed the pattern set by Oxford United in 1994 and Portsmouth last season. What distinguished this victory was the way George Graham, the Leeds manager and a dab hand at getting his tactics right for the big occasion, was outmanoeuvred by Mark McGhee, his opposite number at Molineux and a fellow Scot to boot.

BIRMINGHAM'S chairman David Gold will meet Trevor Francis this morning and plead with him to continue as manager of the club. Francis resigned soon after Saturday's victory over QPR at St Andrews. The 43-year-old former Birmingham player, who took charge in June 1996, was angry that the club had let out a private lounge, used by players' wives, in a package which brought in £2,500. Francis was also appalled that a person using the lounge verbally abused his son Matthew, then threatened him in the car park.

Gold admitted last night that mistakes had been made. "I think I have a 50-50 chance of making Trevor change his mind," he said. "I have spoken with him and he seems to be feeling a little better, probably because of the groundswell of support. Every player to a man has contacted him asking him to reconsider, and supporters have even pinned letters on the gates of St Andrews pleading with him to change his mind."

Francis stormed out and refused to elaborate. But Gold accepted that it had much to do with the moving of the players' wives to accommodate the group.

"Just to gain £2,500, the whole episode was never worth it. It will never happen again. I shall be investigating the entire affair and the person who verbally abused Matthew will be banned from St Andrews for life."

"I want Trevor to stay. We have a special relationship, not just as chairman and manager but as friends."

Wolves defeated Leeds much as Graham's Arsenal teams used to beat their opponents in important fixtures. McGhee found a format to frustrate one of the better Premiership sides and his players kept faith with it from start to finish.

When Graham had studied Wolves in recent First Division matches he found they played either a 4-3-3 formation or 4-4-2, but the team that came to Elland Road was something else. McGhee employed three centre-backs, played four across the midfield and, crucially, used three strikers to pin back the Leeds defenders.

With the full-backs Martin Hiden and Ian Harte denied regular opportunities to give the attack width, Leeds were forced to play through a crowded midfield, where their movements were frequently disrupted by Carl Robinson and Simon Osborn. And when Jimmy Floyd Hasselbaink, Rod Wallace or Harry Kewell did glimpse space near goal they were usually crowded out by the excellent Keith Curle and Dean Richards. "We didn't handle their system of play," Graham admitted later.

Wolves always believed that the quick pass over or through the Leeds defence would eventually pay off and adopted this approach from the first minute, when an early ball from Lee Taylor sent Dougie Freedman to the left-hand byline. The problem was that the soundness of the idea was consistently let down by the poverty of the execution, players in good positions wasting opportunities through poor control.

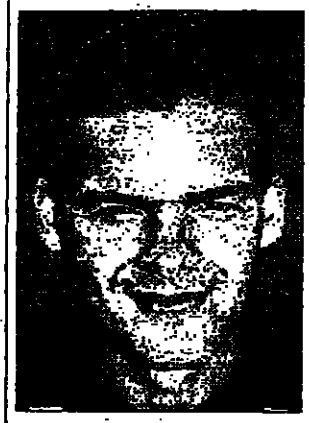
Hans Segers not blocked Kewell's shot after the Leeds man had slipped past Kevin Muscat, a fellow Australian, just before the half-hour mark. Wolves would probably have lost. As it was, Leeds' last chance of victory proved to be the moment in the 79th minute when Hasselbaink nodded down Hiden's centre to Alf Inge Haaland, who miskicked calamitously in front of goal.

By then Graham had brought on Gary Speed in an effort to give his attack more width, moving Lucas Radebe into the midfield vacancy left by the departure of Bruno Ribeiro and switching Hiden, his recent signing from Rapid Vienna, to centre-back. But he saved one to deny Leeds a replay. It was only Segers' second game in two years.

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Goodman calmly chipped the winning goal past the advancing Nigel Martyn, only for Wolves' rejoicing to be cut short five minutes later when Hasselbaink sucked Robbie Keane into bringing him down in the penalty area. Segers, guessing right, lunged himself hard left to keep out Hasselbaink's kick and, despite Martyn adding his weight to Leeds' desperate efforts to save the tie, Wolves managed to hold on.

A good day for the FA Cup, then, which Hasselbaink's silly attempt to butt Curle in the face after the penalty miss did not spoil. At last Sir Jack Hayward's heavy investment in Wolves is promising a dividend. But Premiership football is still Molineux's real goal.



Segers... crucial save

Coventry City 1 Sheffield United 1

Oggie's crazy escape could cost Thompson dear

Martin Thompson

GEOFF THOMPSON did not take his ball home in disgust but instead produced a performance of intelligence and composure to shame some of the club's directors, downed from their perch at least since a trip to Wembley in May.

Thompson was confident before the game that the Blades would force a replay, because the club's internal strife was so obvious.

The Blades' internal strife was so obvious that it was a wonder that the club had not been taken over by a consortium of investors. The Blades' internal strife was so obvious that it was a wonder that the club had not been taken over by a consortium of investors.

Thompson himself might have been in with a shout for the job had Peter Katchourou scored a winner seconds from time, though it would have been cruel on Steve Ogrizovic, the 10-year-old goalkeeper back in the Coventry side for the first time since being dropped in December.

The only survivor from Coventry's 1987 FA Cup-winning team was horror-struck when he kicked a clearance against Katchourou and saw the ball fall into the United striker's stride with an empty net waiting.

Big Oggie's ageing frame set off in panicked pursuit and, thankfully for him, Katchourou's need to get the ball on to his right foot allowed the puffing goalkeeper time to get in a desperate tackle which diverted the shot against the post.

"He doesn't run that far in pre-season," City's manager, a relieved Gordon Strachan, said afterwards.

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Birmingham to plead with Francis to stay

Peter White

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"I want Trevor to stay. We have a special relationship, not just as chairman and manager but as friends."

Scottish Cup quarter-finals Dundee United 2 Celtic 3

Janean's Dutch treat works wonders as Celtic stay on course for treble

Patrick Cleary

CELTIC, the Glasgow club, have been given a boost by the arrival of a Dutch player, who has scored a hat-trick in the Scottish Cup quarter-final.

When Celtic defeated Dundee United 3-2 in the quarter-final, the club's Dutch player, who has scored a hat-trick in the Scottish Cup quarter-final, was the hero of the hour.

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In the 5-page sports section



Luckless Irish

French close to Five Nations slip-up

13



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Racing 14
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The Guardian Sport

Monday March 9 1998 www.football.guardian.co.uk

FA Cup

Sixth round: Newcastle Utd 3 Barnsley 1

Dalglish feels force of destiny

Ian Ross sees a Geordie nation daring to believe this is the year

THE good folk of Newcastle may still harbour some reservations about the latest custodian of their dreams, Kenny Dalglish, but this morning the fog on the Tyne will only barely conceal a city's growing sense of excitement.

After 34 years of underachievement, Newcastle United again find themselves within touching distance of an FA Cup final appearance. Their reward for scrambling past Barnsley in a fascinating tie is a semi-final meeting against either Coventry City or Sheffield United. The Geordies will fancy their chances.

fray around the edges in the 17th minute when Newcastle's growing superiority manifested itself in the afternoon's opening goal.

Gary Speed's driven pass was knocked to his left by Robert Lee leaving Temuri Ketsbala with a relatively simple task of sliding home from 12 yards.

To a man, Barnsley insisted that Ketsbala was offside, a viewpoint backed up by television replays, but the referee Neil Barry was having none of it.

The game's competitive edge was to be further dulled just before the half hour. Lee set Andreas Andersson scurrying away down the centre

The Draw

Coventry City or Sheffield United v Newcastle United
Wolverhampton Wanderers v Arsenal or West Ham United
Ties to be played Sunday, April 5

Dalglish believes that he will succeed in the North-east much as he did in the North-west. The day his natural sense of optimism is eclipsed by self-doubt, he will walk away, shrugging his shoulders in a manner which will suggest that his exit represents someone else's loss.

This game was frenetic but that is the magic of the FA Cup — either that or it was the tangible desperation of two clubs who yesterday faced up to the prospect of seasons' end. Ill-equipped to defend with any authority, Barnsley have developed a certain fondness for the logical theory that if the ball is moved quickly to the opposite end of the pitch, then danger will threaten only infrequently.

Having removed the cavalier streak from Newcastle's football, Dalglish finds himself at the helm of a side curiously vulnerable to any team with bottle and a basic sense of organisation.

Barnsley began well, moving forward purposefully. There was no hint of intricacy, just the sensible and orthodox tactics demanded of the occasion.

Indeed Ashley Ward should probably have put them in front after nine minutes but in his haste to deliver what proved a wildly inaccurate shot, he seemed to overlook the fact that he was unmarked eight yards from goal.

It was to be a costly blunder, but Ward was not the only player in a red shirt to dig for gold and find only rubble. The fairy tale began to

and, although the Swede overran the ball, he still managed to drive in a low shot which hit the legs of Barnsley's goalkeeper David Watson and rebounded to Speed who scored with some ease.

Then, true to form, Newcastle began to show signs of panic and almost blew it. Barnsley stormed back and in a gripping and resourceful renaissance almost rescued the tie.

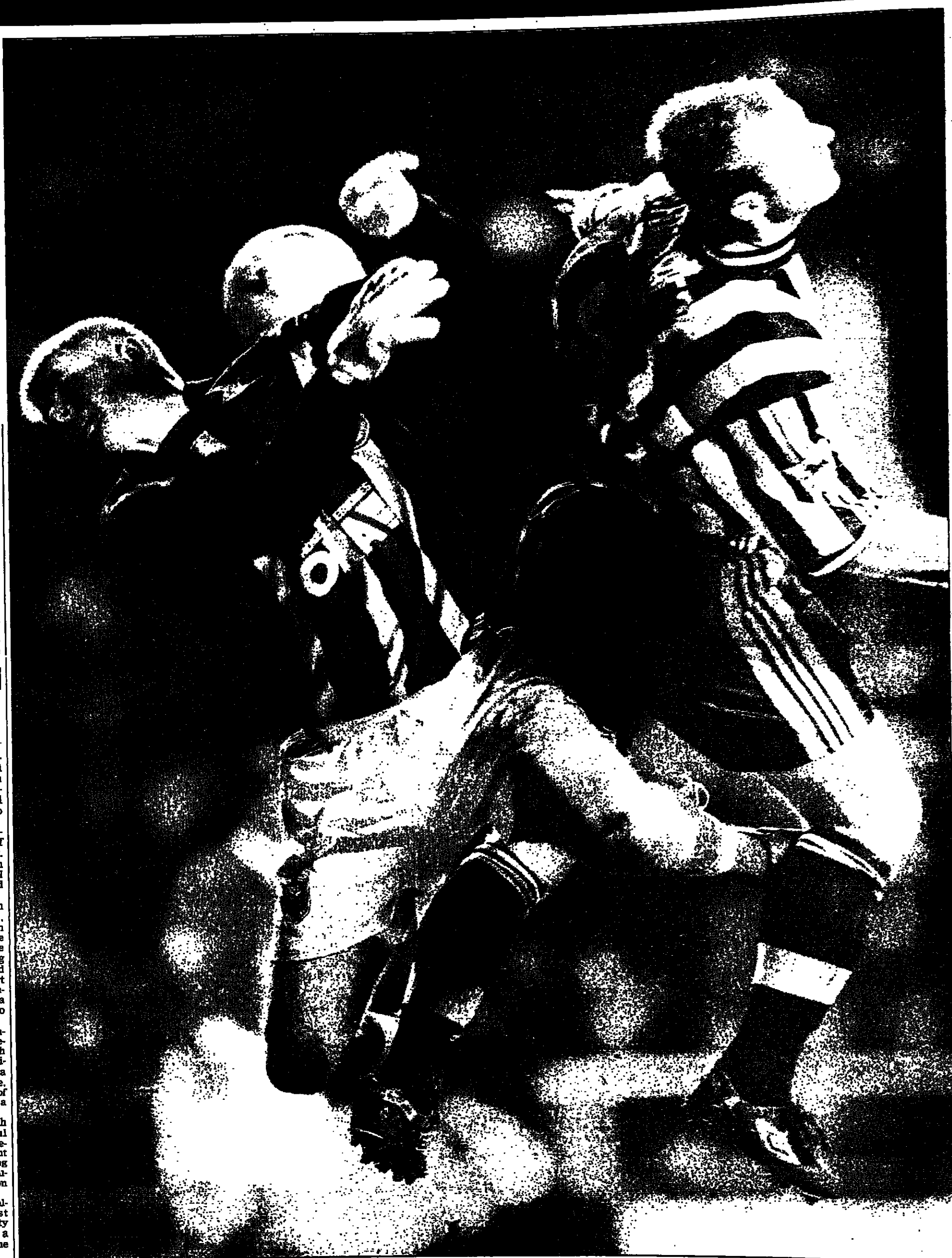
After a frightening ride on football's learning curve, Barnsley, so hindered by an inferiority complex in the season's early months, have at last come to love life among the big boys. They work hard for each other and, in a sport which is now awash with ungracious and selfish prima donnas, there can be no greater tribute.

The second half was 11 minutes old when the Yorkshiremen claimed the goal which produced an enthralling finale. Martin Bullock, on as a substitute for Clint Marcelle, laid the ball into the path of Andy Liddell who clipped in a fine, rising drive.

As the tension built both sides missed wonderful chances and the Barnsley defender Adrian Moses was sent off with 16 minutes remaining after picking up a second caution for a clumsy challenge on Alan Shearer.

The outcome was in the balance until the very last seconds when David Betty stepped forward to steer in a fabulous shot and end all the arguments.

Paul Hayward, page 15



Aerial combat... the Barnsley goalkeeper David Watson and the Newcastle striker Alan Shearer contest a teasing cross at St James' Park yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

Arsenal 1 West Ham 1

Pearce's double act has drawing power

David Laacy

WEST HAM'S bubbles got up Arsenal's nose yesterday and for the third time this season Arsenal's team face an FA Cup replay on their opponents' ground. Deprived of all but one of their strikers, West Ham defended solidly to force a draw in a full of interest but short of a match-winner.

Arsenal's visit to Upton Park tomorrow week will be their third this year. In January they knocked Harry

Redknapp's side out of the quarter-finals of the Coca-Cola Cup and only a week ago they shared a 0-0 draw there in the Premiership.

Given West Ham's strength at home it will be surprising if Arsenal win as easily as they did at Selhurst Park in the fifth round after Crystal Palace had held them to 0-0 at Highbury, if indeed they manage to beat Redknapp's team again. John Hartson, suspended yesterday, will be back for West Ham by then and Arsenal will need to show more inventiveness to earn a semi-final against Wolves.

West Ham's performance was born of the added resilience they have shown away from home since Christmas. No longer are they inclined to surrender the initiative by giving away silly goals. Last September, when Dennis Bergkamp was in his pomp, West Ham lost 4-0 at Highbury but yesterday Arsenal struggled to achieve as many shots on target, let alone beat Bernard Lama.

In his second game for West Ham, the pig-tailed, Guyana-born French goalkeeper showed an assurance which underlined the confidence of his defenders and

set the tone for the afternoon in the opening minute when he flew to his left to turn aside a free-kick that Bergkamp had aimed towards the top corner.

Bergkamp, in doubt before the game with a back injury, did not look fully fit and found it harder to outwit his marker, Ian Pearce, than he should have done. Yet Pearce, along with Steve Potts and Rio Ferdinand, who played with pain-killing injections in an injured calf, defended with discipline and composure to deny Arsenal anything more than the odd glimpse of goal.

Without a fit Ian Wright, Arsenal are bound to find it hard to snatch victories in their old familiar way.

"In the box," said Wenger afterwards, "our presence wasn't strong enough. It was attack against a defence occasionally coming out on the counter-attack." True enough, and in the first 25 minutes two of West Ham's counter thrusts may have knocked Arsenal out.

Significantly their wing-backs were heavily involved in the movements which led up first to a goal and then a miss. Without Hartson's power and aggression there

was seldom much hope of West Ham making progress through the middle. Sammassi Abou, their lone striker, took on Tony Adams and Martin Keown bravely enough, even if he did seem blissfully ignorant of the way Arsenal push up for offside. "I had a long chat with him before the game," said Redknapp. "He didn't understand a word!"

West Ham went ahead in the 12th minute after Andrew Linney's persistence had forced Nigel Winterburn to concede a corner on the right. Frank Lampard's kick was neither flesh nor

fowl, lacking both height and meaningful direction, but a deflection sent it skidding across the penalty area to Pearce, whose emphatic first-time drive shot past Alex Manninger's stretching left hand.

A dozen minutes later and the tie could have stretched beyond Arsenal's reach altogether. Stan Lazaridis left Lee Dixon and Keown in his wake on the left flank before producing an astute cross which cleared the leaping Adams. The ball fell to Berkovic, unmarked in front of goal, but all he could do was tread on it.

Another four minutes and the penalty for that wasted opportunity was, quite literally, brought home to West Ham. Pearce, having beaten Ray Parlour to the ball, turned goalwards when he should have gone the other way. Keown, sensing his

chance, hurled himself forward and the West Ham defender probably only saw him at the last instant. Nevertheless, Keown was brought down by Pearce, and Bergkamp gratefully brought the scores level from the penalty spot.

Arsenal being Arsenal, an even-tempered game briefly lost its rag after the final whistle when Vieira reacted to Moncur's mild farewell shove with flailing fists and feet, none of which made contact.

The incident occurred behind the referee's back and Mike Reed will not be reporting it. But Vieira, already sent off twice this season, should have learned by now that seeing red merely leads to seeing more red and he may yet be punished in the pocket by Wenger if the video evidence confirms the Frenchman's guilt.

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